HISTORICAL EVENTS OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

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JOSE RIZAL NATIONAL CENTENNIAL COMMISSION

WRITINGS OF JOSE RIZAL

Volume VI

HISTORICAL EVENTS OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

By

Dr. ANTONIO DE MORGA

Published in Mexico in 1609 recently
brought to light and annotated

By

JOSE RIZAL

preceded by a prologue by

DR. FERDINAND BLUMENTRITT

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PREFACE

"Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas" written by Dr. Antonio de Morga, annotated by José Rizal with a prologue by Dr. Ferdinand Blumentritt, was published by Rizal himself in Paris in January 1890, considering it important for the propaganda activities which at the time he directed, and in order to set the record straight regarding the cultural conditions obtaining among his countrymen, on the arrival of the Spanish adventurers in the Philippine Islands. Rizal clearly states in his dedicatory remarks, the purpose which inspired him in undertaking the writing of this book, as follows:

> "In my "NOLI ME TANGERE" I commenced to sketch the present conditions obtaining in our country. The effect produced by my efforts gave me to understand — before proceeding to develop before your eyes other successive scenes — that it is to necessary to first lay bare the past, in order the better to judge the present and to survey the road trodden during three centuries"
>
> ....
>
> "If the work succeeds in arousing in yourselves the realization of our Past, erased from the memory, and in rectifying what has been falsified and slandered, then my efforts shall not have been in vain. With this as a basis, however small it may be, we can all proceed to studying the future."

For this purpose, he chose "SUCESOS" by Dr. Morga, which had been published in Mexico in 1609, and that according to Dr. Blumentritt, became famous because it described better the conditions obtaining in the country during the so-called period of conquest of the Philippine Islands. The value of this work can very well be judged by the fact that Lord Henry E. J. S. Stanley translated it into English, thus becoming one of the publications of the well-known Hakluyt Society of London and which Justo Zaragoza had attempted to republish in 1888. Besides, in 1904 Messrs. Blair and Robertson published it anew in their work entitled "The Philippine Islands", 1493-1898; and W. E. Retana also published it with his own annotations in 1909. After weighing and evaluating each and every proof he found in books, manuscripts, documents and other records in the course of his investigation of the vast Filipiniana Collection of the British Museum and other libraries, Rizal proceeded to reconstruct the records on the past history of the Philippines in order to show that, even before the arrival of the Spaniards, the natives of this country already possessed a considerably high culture, not as inferior as that depicted by the Spaniards subsequent to Morga's time. As a matter of fact, he endeavored to proceed with the history of the events occuring in the Archipelago, commencing with said period. In other words, he advanced new points of view from which to consider Philippine History. Thus, considering jointly the eight chapters of Morga, together with the annotation of Rizal on each chapter as sufficiently authentic, said book presents the ancient Philippines as it was in ancient times in order to enable us to sift the falsity from the truth of our past history.

The "SUCESOS" as annotated by Rizal, appeared for the first time in the Philippines sixty eight years later when a publisher in Manila, published the new work in 1958, to contribute his bit to the national effort to honor Rizal. The present work is the sixth volume of the Series of Writings of José Rizal which the José Rizal National Centennial Commission has now published in commemoration of his birth.

TO THE FILIPINOS

In the *Noli me tángere* I began the sketch of the present state of our Native Land. The effect that my attempt produced pointed out to me, before proceeding to unfold the other successive pictures before your eyes, the necessity of first making known to you the past in order that you may be able to judge better the present and to measure the road traversed during three centuries.

Born and reared in the ignorance of our Yesterday, like almost all of you, without voice or authority to speak about what we did not see or studied, I considered it necessary to invoke the testimony of an illustrious Spaniard who governed the destinies of the Philippines in the beginning of her new era and witnessed the last moments of our ancient nationality. It is then the shadow of the civilization of our ancestors which the author is now evoking before you. I transmit faithfully to you his words, without changing or mutilating them, adapting them only whenever possible to modern orthography for greater clarity, and altering the somewhat defective punctuation of the original in order to make its perusal easier. The post, the nationality, and merits of De Morga, together with the data and testimonies furnished by his contemporaries, almost all Spaniards, recommend the book to your thoughtful consideration.

If the book succeeds to awaken your consciousness of our past, already effaced from your memory, and to rectify what has been falsified and slandered, then I have not worked in vain, and with this as a basis, however small it may be, we shall be able to study the future.

José Rizal

Europe 1889

Translated by Encarnación Alzona

PROLOGUE

My very dear Friend:

I accept your kind invitation, which so honors me and I'm going to write you a few lines instead of a prologue. I'm not afraid of the difficulties of writing in a language which I don't master; I'm not afraid because I follow the impulses of my heart and the heart knows how to overcome grammatical and lexicographic obstacles. It is not the purpose of these lines to present a dish to those who relish the rich phraseology of the majestic language of Cervantes, no; my purpose is to thank you in the name of the international republic of scholars, in the name of the Philippines, in the name of Spain, for the publication of this most important chronicle of the dear country in which you were born and whose adopted son I consider myself to be. With this reprinting you have erected a *monumentum aere perennius*[1] to the name Rizal. Morga's book always enjoyed the fame of being the best chronicle of the "conquest" of the Philippines. Spaniards and foreigners are agreed on this opinion, on this estimate. No historian of the Philippines can disregard with impunity the wealth of data that sparkle in the work of the renowned justice; but neither can it satisfy his desires, because Morga's *Sucesos* is a rare book, so rare a book that the very few libraries that have it guard it with the same solicitude as if it were a treasure of the Incas. It must be supposed that the Spaniards rendered the just tribute of gratitude to the noble compatriot, to the upright representative of the metropolis in the Far East, to the gallant defender of the glorious Spanish flag, to the greatest chronicler of the Philippines, but the expectations of the scientific world were not fulfilled in the country bathed by the Tajo and the Guadalquivir. Not one Spaniard could be found who, following the inspiration of a noble and prudent patriotism, admired the work of the author who possessed in his character and soul the best virtues of his nation and whose pen proved to be the precious pen of an excellent author of lofty ideas. The Spaniards did nothing; the Spaniards who always boasted of their patriotism and Hispanism; thus they lost an opportune moment of renewing the glories of the glorious past.

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[1] A monument more enduring than bronze. (E. A.)

In view of this regrettable indifference of Spanish Philipinologists, a foreigner (boldness)! meddled in the affairs of the country: An English lord, Lord Stanley, translated into the language of the "yes" the immortal work of the great Spaniard, applauded by the world of foreign orientalists, but did not receive an honorable mention from that nation whose duty it was not to leave the laurels of his undertaking to a foreigner. The scientific world was satisfied; every orientalist, every Philippiniste, ought to understand English, and the numerous notes and appendices of the translation did not hurt the value of the "resurrection" of the *Sucesos de Filipinas.* Thanks to that translation, we foreigners did not believe in the necessity or at least in the urgent need for the reprinting of the Spanish original.

But you, my dear friend, were not in accord with this resignation and modesty of the outside world, with this indifference and apathy of Spain. In your heart, which is truly noble and generous, you have felt the extent of national ingratitude, and you, the elder son of the Tagalog nation, you, the martyr of a loyal and active patriotism, you were the one who paid the debt of the nation — of the very nation whose degenerate sons mock your race and deny them intellectual endowments.

I admire this proof of patriotic nobility and generous patriotism. The parasites, the friars, and the Spanish gods of the Filipino world call you *filibustero;* thus you have been slandered by those who, for their madness for greatness, for the sake of their pockets, and for the bandage of their passions, are the indefatigable grave-diggers of the integrity of the mother country. You have shown them who knows how to fulfill the duties of a patriot: The Filipino scholar who renews the laurels of a great author, statesman, and fighter of Spain and calls the attention of the government to the evils of the mother country or they who sow racial hatred in the breast of the Filipinos by their jeers and irritating expressions of contempt.

You know already that you will be attacked cruelly by the crowd of Spaniards who consider an educated *Indio* a crime of *lese majeste.* But if an Indio has entered the world of scholars, if that Filipino scholar not only fulfills the duties that Spaniards first of all ought to fulfill, but also censures the conduct of the European colonizers and civilizers, then the Malayan author can consider himself lucky if only the anathema and curses of all those who believe themselves superior beings, infallible and untouchable, should rain over him on account of the place of his birth and the sickly color of his skin.

But you have not written your book for them. The new edition of the *Sucesos* is dedicated to scholars and patriots. Both groups will be grateful to you. I have no doubt that your notes, so scholarly and well-thought out, will stir the European world. More than 150 years ago the just and Christian protest against the cruelties committed by the European discoverers in the New World stopped spreading, its precursor being a noble Spaniard, the venerable prelate, Las Casas. This man, truly a saint, spoke in the name of Christian religion and compassion, but he succeeded only in stopping the traffic of Negro slaves. The French idealists of the last century protested against the maltreatment of the "colored" man" as a result of their idea that the savage and the uncivilized man represent the age of innocence of humankind. Thus to the school of Rousseau as well as to various Spaniards the colored man seemed a grown-up child with the difference that the latter deduced from their theory the right to oppress him while the French idealists were in favor of applying to the "big children" all the inexhaustible and indulgent love that a father professed toward his child.[2] So we observe that this affection toward the "colored men" at bottom was a manifestation of the madness for greatness of the European race because their supposition (erroneous) was that, with the exception of the white race, of the Chinese and Japanese, all the other nations and races of the world are either savages, primitive men, or at least men whom the providence of the Supreme Being endowed with a childish and limited intelligence. Following this theory and the other that modern civilization was a poison, the French idealists wanted to guarantee a paternal and loving tutorship, but withal an eternal tutorship of the "colored men". And full of idealism they wanted that tutorship to be so indulgent and so benign that everything would be permitted the "colored men" while the white man was to play the role of nurse or governess of the child whose bad conduct had to be excused and even praised. A good example was the German Forster. On an islet in eastern Oceania, the natives stole his hat (if I remember rightly.) Forster did not complain against the thieves; on the contrary, he accused himself of having aroused the feeling of rapacity of the natives by using a beautiful hat. He was a model for numerous others. If the ideas of those deluded men had been realized, colored men would not have to thank their benevolent protectors, because they proposed not only to protect them against the brutalities of our race but also to protect and even nourish their vices and immoralities. The ugly nakedness of reality ended the beautiful dream of the deluded men who forgot that in the breast of every man slumbers the beast, that beast which, like the noxious bacilli that are killed through disinfection, is killed only through the spread of education. But the illusions of those enthusiasts did not remain sterile. The idea of the emancipation of slaves originated in these illusions. I only regret that the noble and generous nation, the Spanish nation, had ceded the laurels of the emancipation of the Negroes to a nation who bears the surname of "mercantile" — the English nation.

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[2] It must be noted that the laws of the Spanish Indies had the same affectionate and protective tendencies, but unfortunately those who implemented them did not follow the intentions of the lawmakers.

In the following epoch, the cruelties committed by us Europeans were attacked, not for noble motives but for national rivalries and vain glory. Then the English accused the Spaniards, the Germans the Portuguese, the Dutch the French, *etc.*, of having been barbarous and cruel toward the natives of their colonies while they kept silent about the cruelties committed by themselves either for malice or for being blinded by national love.

The modern era, in short, with its democratic ideas, ended by looking with other eyes on their colored brothers. The new European generation proclaims, or rather recognizes, not only the equality of races but also that of whole mankind. To us the colored man is no longer a mystery or a human curiosity; the colored man is the same man as we are. Now through the diffusion and advancement of geographical, ethnographical, and historical knowledge, we are ashamed of the period when we denied to those brothers the full rights of man. Now we regret the errors, the crimes, the miseries that stain the pages of the history of the European race. Now we confess with the frankness of a repentant sinner our guilt and as the modern generation is not a deluded generation but an active generation, we extend our arms to our brothers asking them to forgive the faults of our ancestors and we try to make up for the errors and crimes of centuries past.

So then, your observations on the conduct of the European conquerors and civilizers are in general not new to the historian. The Germans specially discussed this theme almost in the same manner as you do, and let no one tell me that the Germans can talk about the cruelties committed by other nations because they have had no colonies, for Emperor Charles V transferred to the bankers of Augsburg, to the Welsers (the Balzaros of the Spaniards) the territory that is now called Republic of Venezuela, and though German rule lasted only a few years, German cruelties were no different from those committed by other nations and the German historians rightly condemn with the greatest harshness the crimes of their fellow nationals. So in general the accusations in your notes are not a novelty. But without doubt it interests us how the picture of these days of discovery and civilization is presented to the descendants of the maltreated, to the victims of European intolerance. Naturally I have found out that you have painted it from other points of view different from ours and that you have discovered things which have escaped the attention of the Europeans, because even the most impartial among us could not renounce all the inveterate preoccupations of race and nationality. And these new points of view give your notes an imperishable value, an undeniable value even for those who dream of an inaccessible superiority of race or nationality. The scholar will salute with enthusiasm your erudite annotations, the colonial politician with gratitude and respect. Through those lines run a flood of serious observations equally interesting and important to historians and ministers of overseas colonies alike.

My great esteem for your notes does not hinder me from confessing that more than once I have observed that you suffer from the error of many modern historians who censure the occurrences of centuries past in accordance with the concepts that correspond to contemporary ideas. This ought not to be so. The historian ought not to impute to the men of the XVI century the broad horizon of ideas that stirs the XIX century. The second point with which I don't agree is some unbosoming against Catholicism. I believe that the origin of numerous occurrences regrettable to religion, to Spain, and to the good name of the European race should be sought in the harsh behavior and abuses of many priests.

Until this point I have referred only to your historical notes. Their very perusal inspires great interest in every man devoted to the scientific or political study of the colonial regime of the Spaniards as well as of the other Europeans. This interest naturally increases when you speak of present-day affairs, defending your compatriots and condemning the bad condition of the country. I recommend the perusal of these annotations to all Spaniards who love the Philippines and desire the preservation of the Archipelago. Even those who deny that the Indio possesses natural human intelligence ought to read these lines in which an Indio speaks of the errors and illusions of "superior beings." I don't expect that those demi-gods can be cured of their prejudices; to them your work is like your Tagalog novel:[3] A *mene, tekel, upharsian.*[4]

But — thank God — there is a sufficient number of Spaniards who do not need the operation of the cataract or who suffer from gout and these will follow attentively your suggestions. Every educated man knows by now that the French adage applies to the questions of the colonial regime: *Les jours de fete sont pases.*[5] The brutal exploitation of the natives cannot now find sufficient pretexts to appease the very sensitive public morality of the present generation. Neither religion nor civilization nor the glory of kings and nations now permits the conversion of the natives into servants without rights, without liberties. Even those states which base their regime on the prestige of their race take very great care not to offend the feelings of the ruled, because they know well that colonies cannot be preserved if the mother country does not know how to inspire her children overseas if not with affection, at least with the respect that one contracting party shows the other, to say the truth, who contests the greater part part of the advantage of the contract, but at least observes it scrupulously in all points. It is impossible now to regard colonies as a rich grazing-ground for the adventures or for the *enfants perdus*[6] of the mother country. The best men, the best talents, the most noble characters, ought to go out to fill the positions overseas to be able to thus serve as leaders and supporters of the integrity of the mother country and to restore, not the prestige, but the good name of the European race.

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[3] Rizal's famous novel, *Noli me tángere.* (E. A.)

[4] Numbered, weighed, divided. (E. A.)

[5] The days of festivities are over. (E. A.)

[6] Lost children. (E. A.)

The Philippines forms a colony *sui generis*,[7] inhabited by millions of men whose religion is like ours, whose civilization is the child of our own, and whose diverse peoples amalgamate with the bond of the Spanish language. Those millions now aspire through the voice of their most enlightened sons to the assimilation of their country by the mother country and hope for the redemption of their country and the guarantee of the integrity of the mother country, not from the magnanimity and nobility of the Spanish nation but from her sense of justice and prudence. The best reforms that are introduced into the Philippines will remain sterile if the policy of governmental terrorism continues, which places in danger the freedom of every Filipino liberal and smothers brutally public discussion of the ills of the country. The same policy in Russia created nihilism and in the Philippines it will be indisputably the godmother of separatist ideas. Thus the present policy serves only to compromise Spanish rule. The misfortune of Spain and the Philippines is that the majority of the Spaniards do not want to recognize this truth. Some cannot recognize it for their egotistic interests; others because they live on illusions or they regard the colonies overseas with the boasted national indifference. To the first group belong the friars and those government employees who do not govern or administer the country but exploit its inhabitants. Every Hispanization or assimilation of the Filipinos or of the Philippines disturbs the circles of those predominant and powerful castes. To them the slogan "The Philippines for Spain!" means "Filipino gold into our pockets!" They fear the discussion of their abuses in the press of the country and in the Cortes of the kingdom; so they work with all the strength of their soul and of their gold to foment the traditional suspicion of the rest of the Spaniards, nourishing that hapless and hysterical suspicion by means of calumnies, denouncing every truly pro-Spanish movement of the Filipinos as filibusterismo. I don't believe that all the partisans of this anti-Filipino league are so blinded by their passions that they cannot see the consequences of their behavior — the inevitable separation of the Philippines, or at least, a series of uprisings that will cost Spain much blood and much more money; but perhaps they trust in that "*Apres nous le deluge*",[8] for they know by the Holy Scriptures that the sins of the fathers are visited upon their children until the fourth generation. The friars at least know well that their power, their rule, will surely fall with or without the will of Spain and so they try by all means and with the help of pious frauds to postpone the end of their downfall. If this is brought about against the will of Spain, that is, by the separation of the country, it would not matter to them, because the orders of St. Augustine, St. Dominic, and St. Francis are international and they remain Augustinians, Dominicans, even if the Philippines does not remain Spanish territory, and in this case the friars either enter into an agreement with the Filipinos or emigrate to the place indicated by their general who resides at Rome. If the friars consent to the assimilation of the Philippines, they would do a patriotic act, but a very imprudent act with respect to the interests of their business. The ideas of the friars are the following: "If we agree to assimilation, the consequence will be that Filipino deputies will ask for the expulsion of the friars from the Philippines and they will get it; so it will be suicide to agree to the parliamentary representation of the Philippines and to other attributes of assimilation; if we take advantage of the state of ignorance of the country that prevails in the circles of the central government, we can at least retard our downfall for some years to the benefit of our pockets." Filipino radicals contributed greatly toward the development of this friar tactics, because they proclaim the slogan "Out with the Friars!", thus placing the friars in the dilemma: Either to renounce voluntarily and immediately not only their omnipotent influence but also all their temporal property (which does not seem to them worthless) or retard their ruin at the expense of the integrity of the mother country and the welfare of the Philippines. Thus the Filipino radicals, adopting the intolerance of the friars, compelled them to follow the Latin adage *oderint, dum metuant.*[9] The reasoning of the exploiting employee is identical with that of the friars. To them assimilation is their ruin, and naturally the interests of the stomach are greater than the interests of the mother country. Thus the Philippines count on an army of enemies, so much more fearful as they have in Spain the fame of being the support, the only support, of Spanish rule and the only ones who know the country. According to my modest opinion, the exploiting employees form an uncompromising party while the friars would renounce much if they are guaranteed the rest....

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[7] Of its own kind, unique. (E. A.)

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[8] "After us the deluge." (E. A.)

I have said the adversaries of the assimilation of the Philippines count on a large number of deluded persons. Among them in the first place are those who suffer from the madness of the greatness of the European race. Everything that does not smell of their country is repugnant to them. The climate and the culinary art of the country seem to them hellish, and the noses and the color of the skin of the Filipino Malays and *Mestizos* are horrifying to them. It is true that those hapless representatives of our European race do not belong to the *haute volee*[10] of the educated class, but in political questions the most educated persons do not play an important role; so we will have to count on these speciments of the *genus humanum.* They belong to the uncompromising class, because *de gustibus non est disputandum,*[11] and it is a disgrace for Spain that they form a very large class. It is the fault of the government of the metropolis because it did not know how to infuse in the minds of the Spanish youth in school dynamic love for their brothers overseas; it cultivated dangerous national pride which is provocative and suicidal; but it forgot to imbue the children with love and enthusiasm for all countries and all races that form and inhabit the Spanish kingdom. If Spain did not have millions of colored subjects, it would be well and very good to educate the Spanish youth in proud illusions that every man who is not a Spaniard is inferior or repugnant, but as Spain still preserves remnants of her old colonial empire, it seems more than imprudent for the Spanish youth in the peninsula to forget that at least one third of Spanish subjects do not have the phenomenal luck of having been born in the peninsula. That national and European pride is very aggressive and irritating and it is the greatest enemy of Spain because it establishes as indisputable the superiority of the *Castilas* (Spaniards) and does not allow either the realization of the aspirations of the Filipinos or even the discussion of Philippine questions in a sense favorable to the desires of the country. And this is the more regrettable as a favorable solution of the Philippine question is certain, time only being insecure and the question of whether the solution will be for or against Spain. This depends upon the Spaniards in the peninsula. If the features and customs of the Filipinos seem to them so repugnant that it is not possible for them to embrace them as brothers, the Filipinos will separate from them without doubt. A *Castila* god of Manila, on the occasion of my humble defense of your *Noli me tángere*, furious, wrote a little article in which this passage is found: "Are we not Spaniards, Spaniards of a good race and ready for every sacrifice?" Congratulations, I agree and I hope that this is not just a hollow phrase. The first duty of a Spaniard who desires to preserve the country ought to be: Sacrifice the folly for greatness of the European race and national vanities for the welfare and integrity of the mother country; but, if I know those gentlemen, they will sacrifice their life, their money, and a hundred Philippines, Cubas, and Puerto Ricos before they will renounce their national vanities, as the fatuous and ruined nobleman sacrifices to his pride and vanity the few properties that remain to him from his grandparents: *Trahit quemque sua voluptas, stat pro ratione vanitas.*[12] If Hispanism does not want to be converted into big children's prattle, the Spaniards have to overcome their aversion to the flat noses of the Indios and salute them as brothers; if that is not possible, they should authorize the Filipinos to begin the war for independence. The interests of Spain deserve more attention than the aesthetic concepts that certain lordlings form of the Indios. I repeat: The Philippines can be preserved only with, never against, the Filipinos.

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[9] Let them hate, provided they fear. (E. A.)
[10] High class. (E. A.)
[11] There's no accounting for tastes. (E. A.)

The second group of deluded Spaniards is formed by those who are opposed to assimilation, because they believe that it is not timely to grant it for the following reasons: 1st, the country has numerous savage tribes; 2nd, even the Christian and civilized Indios are still in a low level of education and culture. This is true, but it does not impede the realization of Philippine aspirations. The numerous savage tribes do not matter because they have a small number of souls, and the Filipinos do not claim the extension of constitutional liberties to the savage tribes. Yes, it is true that in general the Filipino Indios have little education, but the example of Bulgaria proves that constitutional government does not depend upon the number of illiterates and literates. Still it must be added that this is not the time to discuss the question whether or not it is better to postpone the time for constitutional emancipation, if we do not want to provoke the danger of *Hispania deliberante Philippinae perierunt.*[13] No one should forget that the present state of the Philippines is intolerable for any man who has sufficient dignity in his breast and even to the last peasant, because wherever he looks, he sees oppression, injustice, and offensive and injurious humiliation, and over this the impossibility of defending oneself, because the last Spanish criminal believes himself and considers himself superior even to the best and most noble son of the country, while every Filipino who does not keep quiet and says "Amen" to every despotic and corrupt act of the ruling caste receives the appelation of *filibustero* and runs the danger of being deported and not only he but also his friends; for in the Philippines, it is not only the criminal who is punished but also his whole family, physically and spiritually, as the vexations of your family prove. That peaceful and governable mass hears with greater pleasure what its educated sons tell it than what the friars preach, because naturally they have more confidence in the men of their own race than in those of another, who always boast of their superiority. Thus the Philippines will get by force, if they don't get them gratuitously, their parliamentary representation and their rights to live free and respected. But I doubt if the Filipinos would go to Madrid as deputies in the first case. Certainly the deluded ones of this group trust in the painting of the Indio by the friars and the majority of Spanish writers: The first ones disfigure it out of passion, the second because, blinded by their pride, they do not know that thus a very unpleasant awakening awaits them.

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[12] His own pleasure draws each man. (E. A.)

[13] While Spain deliberates, the Philippines dies." (E. A.)

The third and last group of deluded men hold the ideas of the first two groups; but their national and European pride is not exaggerated to the point of degenerating into folly for greatness, neither is it aggressive nor injurious. Thus they are better than the first group but worse than the second, because the latter at least promises to the coming generation what the present generation asks, while the third group says: "Never!" It is composed of the routinists and doctrinaires who believe that the purpose of colonies is to provide the Spaniard with employment and money and that the children of the country must subordinate the interests of their country not to the interests of Spain but to the well-being of a handful of Spaniards. As doctrinaires, they are not satisfied with this rather bold and improvident pretension but they demand in addition the gratitude of the Filipinos because the superior beings permit them to be born, to live, to suffer, to pray, to pay, and to die *ad majorem Hispanae gloriam.*[14] To be just, we must say that the deluded men of the third group are against every kind of abuse and never will permit a violation of the laws and honor to be covered up with the prestige of the white race. But as their very ideas are nothing more than the codification of the abuses of power and of the prestige of our race (according to those who believe in the innate superiority of the Europeans), so they create finally a regime that demands from its employees justice and honesty while it is founded on an unjust and immortal basis.

Those three groups of deluded men exist in reality — the first is composed of many Spaniards in Manila; the second is represented by a series of benevolent ministers to whom the country owes many laudable reforms but reforms that, in view of despotism and terrorism, are like an excellent velocipede that is presented to a prisoner; the third group includes a large number of Spanish senators and deputies to which we can also add General Salamanca in view of his speeches in the Senate of the kingdom, though unwitting *agents provocateurs*[15] of *filibusterismo*, while the second functions like a good Samaritan who bandage the wounds of a wounded gladiator so that he can come out quickly again to the arena *ad majus gaudium*[16] of the sovereign people. The lions and tigers that attack the gladiator are the friars and other *Castilas*, and the manager of the performance is the third group of deluded Spaniards.

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[14] "For the greater glory of Spain."
[15] Hired plotters .(E. A.)
[16] For the greater delight. (E. A.)

Though it seems paradoxical, I believe that the indifferent persons among the Spaniards constitute the hope of the country, for, as they have no anti-Filipino prejudices, it is supposed that some day they may fraternize with those from the Philippines, if they are informed of their true condition. But for this the help of the government is also needed to see to it that the youth of the kingdom is taught the geography and ethnography of the Philippines. It is very sad, and perhaps more than sad, to note that the youth of countries which have no colonies, like my country Austria, is in general better informed about the Philippines than the Spanish youth and in part even the Spanish bureaucracy. It is very sad, and perhaps even more than very sad, that Spain who reigns over 6 or 8 million Malays, does not have either a college or academy for Malay or oriental studies, the seminaries of the friars being the exclusive enterprises of private or international corporations. It is imprudent, and perhaps even more than imprudent, that the employees in the Philippines work like apprentices, for they do not know the languages and ideas of their subjects, unable to graduate from the status of apprentices because even when their terms of office have not expired yet, they retire after staying a few years in their post, the governors a mere three years. It is a monstrosity of transcendental consequences if every Petition of Right of the Filipinos is considered a *filibustero* act that endangers the integrity of the mother country. All this only serves to nourish *filibusterismo* and to separate the colony from her metropolis. All the enemies and adversaries of the assimilation of Filipinos will get the same thing that the counselors of King Charles X of France obtained in 1830.

These observations are the fruit of the perusal of your notes, and it is the desire of my soul that your book find in Spain a circle of readers who will not burst into imprecations but will know how to deduce from its perusal that the Filipinos in reality are not like those in the disfigured picture painted by the friars and your enemies. If then they do not attend to the Filipinos, the Philippines will be lost, but through their fault. They pretend to be noble but they do not know how to be just; they pretend to be a superior nation and they do not know how to follow a prudent policy; they fear separatist ideas and they compel the Filipinos to seek refuge in revolution. May God will that these prophecies be not realized; but it seems that the governments of Spain lack the aptitude for that of *parat tueri*:[17] *habent sua fata non solum libelli, sed etiam regna.*[18]

Finally, I reiterate my expressions of gratitude for the precious gift with which you have favored your mother country, and the whole civilized world. I hope that you may continue your studies that honor Spain and the Philippines and glorify your name and with it the name Tagalog.

I conclude these lines wishing justice for your work.

Ferdinand Blumentritt

Leitmeritz, Austria

9 November 1889

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[17] He prepares to look.
[18] Not only books have their own destiny but also kingdoms.

By order of the Most Worshipful Señor Don Luis de Velasco, Viceroy of this New Spain, and of the Most Illustrious and Reverend Signor Fr. Garcia Guerra, Archbishop of Mexico, of His Majesty's Council; I have examined this book "SUCESOS DE LAS ISLAS FILIPINAS" written by Doctor Antonio de Morga, Court Justice of the *Real Audiencia* (Royal Court) of Mexico; and the same appearing to Me to be pleasing and useful and fit to be published, in which the author has truly complied with the Laws of History, in view of the good disposition of the work which shows a clearness of genius, laconic style possessed by few, faithful to the subject-matter, as one who had complete knowledge of the same, in view of the years he has governed those lands.

I HAVE SIGNED THESE PRESENTS with my name, in this House of Profession, of the Society of Jesus, México, on the first day of April in the year of Our Lord 1609.

JUAN SANCHEZ

I, Don Luis de Velasco, Knight of the Order of Santiago (Saint James), Viceroy Deputy to the King our Lord, Governor and Captain General of New Spain, and President of the *Real Audiencia* (Royal Tribunal) and Chancellery, therein resident, etc. etc.,

WHEREAS, Doctor Don Antonio de Morga, Justice of Criminal Matters in said *Real Audiencia*,—has apprized Me that he has written a book and treatise of the *SUCESOS DE LAS ISLAS FILIPINAS* since they were first discovered and conquered until the end of last year, Six Hundred and Seven; requesting Me to cause to be given him the license and privilege of publishing it, to the exclusion of all others for some time; and upon my examination thereof, I have entrusted the thorough examination thereof to Father Juan Sanchez of the Society of Jesus;

WHEREFORE, I hereby grant unto said Doctor Antonio de Morga, permission for ten (10) years from today; freely enabling him or the person by him so authorized, to publish the said book by the printer of his choice; and I hereby forbid any other person to do the same within the said period, without any permission to do so, under penalty of forfeiture of the molds and devises with which to print the same; and that I hereby assess half of the proceeds for His Majesty's Chamber, and half for said Doctor Antonio de Morga.

Issued in México on the Seventh day of the month of April in the year of Our Lord Sixteen Hundred and Nine.

Don Luis de Velasco
By Order of the Viceroy
Martín Lopez Gauna

I, Don Fray García Guerra, by Divine Grace and by the Holy Apostolic See, Archbishop of México, of His Majesty's Council, etc., etc.;

Having taken note of the statement of Father Juan Sanchez of the Society of Jesus, of having examined the book which was presented to Us by Doctor Antonio de Morga, Justice of this Court and Chancellery, entitled: "SUCESOS DE LAS ISLAS FILIPINAS, SU CONQUISTA Y CONVERSION", for which we have given our Commission; and it appearing from said statement that there is nothing in it contrary to Our Holy Catholic Faith or to good customs; on the contrary, that it will be useful and advantageous to all persons reading the same;

We Hereby Grant Permission to said Doctor Antonio de Morga to cause the said Book of the Conquest and Conversion of said Philippine Islands to be published in any of the Presses in this City.

GIVEN in México this seventh day of April in the year of Our Lord Sixteen Hundred and Nine.

Father García,
Archbishop of México

By Order of His Illustrious Grace
the Archbishop of México:

Don Juan de Portilla
Secretary

To Don Cristobal Gomez de Sandoval y Rojas
Duque de Cea:

I hereby offer to Your Excellency this small book so worthy of acceptance in view of the faithful narrative it contains, devoid of any artifice and ornament. Conscious of my poor means, I wrote it with misgivings. I was encouraged to proceed by the consideration that if whatever is given should have a proportionate worth with the one who receives it, there would be no one worthy enough to place his work in Your Excellency's hands, then there would remain in oblivion those works produced these times by our Spanish nationals regarding the discovery, conquest and conversion of the Philippine Islands, together with various events in which they have taken part in the great kingdoms and Gentile communities surrounding these; inasmuch as no information has ever been published regarding said most remote lands, specifically describing their original condition and the present status obtaining therein.

I beseech Your Excellency to accept my wishes which I lay at your feet; and if this brief writing does not afford you the pleasure as anticipated by my egotism (an illness of human ingenuity) may Your Excellency treat me as every one else, reading the same and being indulgent with its imperfections, in view of your prudence and meekness, an abundance of which and still further virtues operating with Divine strength, seeing that exalted matters surprise not the humble, which have elevated Your Excellency to your own natural greatness in the position which you hold for the welfare of these Kingdoms; rewarding and favoring what is good, correcting and refraining the otherwise; all of which constitute the good condition of the republic, which prompted Democritus, the ancient philosopher, to invoke true gods to be rewarded or punished. In order to enjoy this happiness, there is no need to look back at any past period but to be content with the present, praying God to grant you life for our sake, for many years to come.

D. ANTONIO DE MORGA

TO THE READER

The Monarchy of the Kings of Spain finds aggrandizement in the zeal and care with which They have defended with their own natural realms the holy Catholic Faith which is taught by the Roman Church, from so many adversaries who persecute it and endeavor to darken its truth with diverse errors which they have sown throughout the world. Thanks to this, They have through God's mercy, preserved their realms and subjects in the purity of the Christian religion, thereby meriting the glorious title and renown as Defenders of the Faith which They now possess. Likewise for the courage of their invincible hearts, with which and at the cost of their own incomes and assets, with Navies and Spanish sailors, they have crossed the seas, discovered and conquered great kingdoms in the remotest and unknown corners of the world, Their people bringing with them the knowledge of the true God and messengers of the Christian Church with whom they now live, rule in peace and justice, civilly and politically under the shelter and protection of their Royal arms and power which the natives had lacked, having lived in the midst of tyranical ignorance and barbarous cruelties on the part of the enemy of the human race which exerted and maintained dominion over it for a long time.

Thus the scepter and crown of Spain had been extended over all the land which can see the Sun from the time it rises until it sets with the glory and splendor of his power and majesty; more than those of other Princes of the earth, winning innumerable souls for heaven, which consideration has been their principal purpose and wealth. Added to all of these things were the vast riches made and spent and the treasures they possessed together with the memorable deeds and victories they have achieved by means of which and throughout the world Their names have become celebrated and the efforts and gallantry of their vassals who have therein participated and their blood.

Once America, a fourth part of the globe, which was unknown to the ancients, was won, the Spanish discoverers sailed following the sun, and discovered in the Eastern Ocean, an archipelago composed of many islands adjacent to the Asian mainland, peopled by various nations, abundant in rich metals, precious stones and pearls and all manner of fruits, on which lands they raised the banner of Faith and redeemed them from the power of Evil and placed them under their obdience and rule; so that they can justly erect therein their peerless pillars and trophies which famous Hercules had left on the shores of the sea of Cadiz which later on the strong arm of Charles the Vth our Lord who bested him in grandiose deeds and enterprises, — razed to the ground.

The Islands having been subjected with the sovereign light of the holy Gospel which penetrated therein, the unchristened ones were baptized thus clearing the darkness of their infidelity, and they changed their names at the same time that the law was changed and their natives were baptized; they assumed the name of Philippine Islands, as an acknowledgment of the great benefits they had received from His Majesty, our Lord Philip the Second, in whose fortunate time and rule they had been conquered, favored and spoiled, as the handiwork of His Royal hands.

Their discovery, conquest and conversion were not achieved without considerable cost, Spanish effort and blood and without many eventful hardships and risks, thus making the deeds more illustrious within a vast field on which historians elaborate, this being their province, seeing that the subject is not brief and involves seriousness and pleasure. The historians deserve credit since they deal without any prejudice to them of wars with the native *indios;* and those who have not experienced these things are inclined to belittle them. The people of these lands are brave and warring nations of Asia, bred under continuous warlike conditions on land and sea, using artillery and aggressive instruments in these undertakings, as a matter of necessity for their own defense against their large and powerful neighboring countries. And, barring certain imperfections, they are also well skilled, and have recently been taught by the school of the Spaniards, the latter having brought war to their homes, just as those of other nations in Europe who had likewise been experienced along these lines, although previously they had been ignorant thereof and careless in this respect.

Some curious people have endeavored to write this same history, to whom I had given several papers and accounts which I possessed, in view that I was lacking in means and time to do so (which they had sufficiently) ; and I expect that eventually they will bring to light fully what so far we possess only in fragment-form prepared by a few historians of our times.

I have spent the best eight years of my life in the Philippine Islands, serving with all diligence in discharging the duties of my offices of Lieutenant Governor General and Captain General; and since the *Audiencia Real* (Supreme Court) *de Manila* was established, as *oidor* or justice thereof, in fact the first one ever to be admitted therein. Thus, with the desire of making generally known the events happening in these Islands, particularly those occuring during my incumbency as above stated, relating from the beginning as much of them as may suffice, I have included them in one book of eight chapters, the first seven of which cover the period comprehending the incumbencies of the regular Captains General who have served as such, up to the death of Don Pedro de Acuña, — the discoveries, conquests and other events occurring in the Islands and in the kingdoms and provinces within their confines. The eighth and last chapter consists of a brief summary and statement of their government and conversion and other particulars, likewise of the knowledge of and association with other islands and non-Christians of the neighboring islands. The author has as much apprehension for the defects which his book may contain, as he is convinced that the book written in honest sincerity, said defects merit indulgence, inasmuch as the aim was to be accurate, and the main purpose of the author was to give to each his own deserts, striving only for truth with neither hatred nor flattery, which latter has had such ill-treatment in several accounts which are being circulated around the world, flattery being a weakness which has been condemned when used in narrating other people's achievements, and has been punished by law enacted by Cato and Marcius who were Tribunes, in cases where in narrating their own achievements, people have overrated them, the fault, however, appearing to be less punishable for the reason that self-esteem was involved.

There will not be lacking those who will spread my faults, and to these I am answering in advance by confessing them, and if to stop this criticism it is not enough to cover my ears like another Ulysses in order to evade this danger (in my hurry to write this book), I will try to overcome these difficulties solely by the vehement desire to please and serve whosoever should read my book, and this will suffice to save me from still greater dangers.

death of Don Pedro de Acuña — the discoveries, conquests and other events occurring in the Islands and in the kingdoms and provinces within their confines. The eighth and last chapter consists of a brief summary and statement of their government and conversion and other particulars, likewise of the knowledge of and association with other islands and non-Christians of the neighbouring islands. The author has as much apprehension for the defects which his book may contain, as he is convinced that the book written in honest sincerity said defects merit indulgence, inasmuch as the aim was to be accurate, and the main purpose of the author was to give to each his own deserts, striving only for truth with neither hatred nor flattery, which latter has had such ill-treatment in several accounts which are being circulated around the world, flattery being a weakness which has been condemned [illegible] used in narrating other people's achievements and [illegible] punished by law enacted by Cato and Marcus [illegible] Tellurus, in cases where in narrating [illegible] achievements people have overrated them, which latter, however, appearing to be less punishable [illegible] reason that self-esteem was involved.

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HISTORICAL EVENTS IN THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

FIRST CHAPTER

The first discovery of the Oriental Islands, and the voyage to the same made by the *Adelantado* (Admiral) Miguel Lopez de Legaspi; the conquest and pacification of the Philippines at the time of his incumbency and that of Guido de Lavazarris who later assumed the office of Governor.

According to the ancient and contemporary cosmographers, that part of the world called Asia, includes some innumerable adjacent large and small Islands inhabited by diverse tribes and natives and are rich in precious stones, gold, silver and other minerals; likewise they have an abundance of fruits and seeds, bovine cattle and otherwise. Some of these Islands raise all manner of spices which go to supply the whole world.[1] These Islands are ordinarily called in the books, descriptions, letters of marque and shipping, the Archipelago of Saint Lazarus, which lies in the eastern part of the ocean, among the most important of which islands are the Moluccas, Célebes, Tendaya,[2] Luzon, Mindanao and Borneo, which are now called the Philippines[3] (!)

Pope Alexander the VI allocated the lands to be conquered in the New World among the Kings of Castile and Portugal who, accordingly agreed to partition them among themselves by *means of a line of demarkation drawn by the cosmographers, around* the globe in order that Kings might proceed with their discoveries and conquests; one in the Western side and the other in the opposite or Oriental one; pacifying all lands which they might win within their corresponding lines of demarkation.

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[1] The author uses the word "universe".—Tr.

[2] Tendaya—meaning Samar or part thereof. (See Rizal notes.)

[3] The Moluccas, Celebes and Borneo are not part of the Philippines (except North Borneo which *did* belong to them, under the Sultan of Sulu, the question being still pending settlement) Tr.

After the Crown of Portugal had won the City of Malacca in the Asian Mainland, within the Kingdom of Ior[1] (Johore) which the ancient people called Aureachersoneso, in the year Fifteen Hundred and Eleven (1511) A.D., upon learning that these Islands were near by, particularly the Moluccas and Banda, from which cloves and nutmeg are obtained; a Portuguese fleet sailed for their discovery. Having reached and stayed in Banda they were taken to Ternate Island belonging to the Moluccas, by its King, in order to defend himself against his neighboring fellow-King of Tydor with whom he was at war. And this was the beginning of the Portuguese occupation of the Moluccas.

Francisco Serrano who had returned to Malacca with this voyage of discovery and had started back to Portugal through India to report on said discovery, died before he could finish the voyage.[2] He had communicated by letter to his friend Ferdinand Magellan (together with whom he had taken Malacca and was at the time in Portugal) what he had witnessed, and with said reports the latter understood what was proper to do regarding the discovery and expedition to the islands.

At this time Magellan transferred to the service of the King of Castile owing to certain reasons of his own[3] and approached our Lord and Emperor Charles the V, apprizing him that the Moluccas were within the line of demarcation of the Crown of Castile so that the conquest thereof belong to the Emperor, pursuant to the award made by Pope Alexander,[1] and that he, Magellan, now offered himself to make an expedition of discovery thereto in the Emperor's name along the route which corresponded to Castile availing himself of the services of an astronomer and geographer by the name of Ruyfarelo under his command.[2]

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[1] Johore in English; pronounced "Dschohor".

[2] Serrano and Magellan died within a few days interval. (Navarrete, Stanley.)

[3] According to historical documents, for the failure of the king of Portugal to grant him an increase in salary that he asked. Alvaro de Saavedra, Villalobos, and even in that of Legazpi himself, which stained with blood those seas, dragging along the inhabitants of those archipelagos in their fratricidal struggles; all of which could have been avoided if there had existed the right of *primi occupantis* (first occupants.) This bull had the same fate as the others. Protestant nations now possess India and the Moluccas, and the Papacy which incited the Catholic rulers to strip of their dominions and their freedom foreign and unknown kings and peoples for the mere fact that they were infidels, without being compelled or urged by anybody (*de nostra mera liberalitate*) now find themselves stripped by rulers, also Catholics, and their dominion reduced to a dominion in name only, like the petty kings of the conquered islands. Justice of history: There's also a God for the Popes!

In view of the importance of the matter in hand, the Emperor entrusted the enterprise of discovery to Ferdinand Magellan with the vessels and equipment they had agreed upon with which Magellan proceeded to discover the straights which were given his name. He sailed through them to the Southern Seas and reached the Island of Tendaya and Sebú (Cebú), in which later he was killed by the natives of Mactan[3] one of the small islands. From there their vessels sailed to the Moluccas where the sailors had arguments and trouble with the Portuguese whom they found in the Island of Ternate. Lastly, the Spaniards who could not

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[1] How everybody knows that Magellan was wrong but thanks to this and to the imperfection of the nautical instruments then, the Philippines did not fall into the hands of the Portuguese. For, according to this famous bull of 4 May 1493 which drew the line of demarcation in the meridian 100 leagues distant (of 17 1/2 degress) to the west and south of any of the islands of Cabo Verde (*quae linea distet a qualibet insularum, quae vulgariter nuncuupantur*) of the Azores and Cabo Verde (*centum leucis versus Occidentem et Meridiem*); according to the settlement of 20 June 1494 which moved away that meridian to 370 leagues to the West of the same islands, and according to the cession made by Charles V of all his rights with respect to the Islands of the Poniente in favor of the Portuguese crown, the Philippines ought not to belong to Spain. In fact, even taking Sao Atao, the island farthest west of the group, as a point of departure, the line of demarcation would fall on 47°30' long. O. Greenwich, and the Spanish conquests could only be extended until the 132°30' long. E., or rather until the Palao Islands. This bull, far from preventing conflicts, as some claim, fostered them until a certain point. Leaning upon it and taking advantage of the meager geographical knowledge at the time, each nation claimed her right to the possession of the rich islands of he Moluccas and the Philippines, giving rise to those dismal struggles recorded in the voyages of Magellan, Del Cano, Loaysa, Alvaro de Saavedra, Villalobos, and even in that of Legaspi himself, which stained with blood those seas, dragging along the inhabitants of those archipelagos in their fratricial struggles; all of which could have been avoided if there had existed the right of *primi occupantis* (first occupants.) This bull had the same fate as the others. Protestant nations now possess India and the Moluccas, and the Papacy which incited the Catholic rulers to strip of their dominions and their freedom foreign and unknown kings and peoples for the mere fact that they were infidels, without being compelled or urged by anybody (*de nostra mera liberalitate*) now find themselves stripped by rulers, also Catholics, and their dominion reduced to a dominion in name only, like the petty kings of the conquered islands. Justice of History: There's also a God for the Popes!

[2] Ruy Falero could not go on that voyage.

[3] Maktan or Mactan. Such extravagant things having been said about Magellan's death, going to the extent of attributing his death to treason

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and poison, without omitting to exaggerate the number of his enemies, we believe it our duty to quote here the passage in which Pigafetta, an eyewitness, describes the Battle of Maktan and the death of Magellan.

> Friday, 26 April, Zula, who was one of the chiefs, or rather one of the heads of the Island of Maktan sent to the Captain General (Magellan) one of his sons with two goats as a present to him; and he ordered that he be told that if he did not do all that he had promised him, it was because of another chief called Si Lapulapu who had prevented him from doing so as he did not want to obey at all the King of Spain. But, if the Captain would only like to send him the following night a boat load of men to help him, he would conquer and subjugate his rival. Upon hearing this message, the Captain decided to go himself with three crafts. We entreated him earnestly not to go personally, but he as a good shepherd, did not want to abandon his flock.
>
> We left Subu at midnight. We were seventy men armed with corselets and helmets. Those who came with us were the Christian king, the prince, some chiefs, and many others, divided into 20 or 30 *balangai* (sic). We arrived at Maktan at three o'clock in the morning. The Captain, before springing over, still wanted to use gentleness and he sent ashore the Muslim merchant to tell the islanders of the party Si Lapulapu that if they would recognize the Christian king as their lord, and obey the king of Spain, and pay us the tribute demanded, our Captain would be their friend; and on the contrary, they would taste how our lances wounded. The islanders were not frightened; they replied that if we had lances, they too have lances of bamboo and wood, hardened in the fire. However, they wanted us to understand that they did not wish us to make the assault at night but to wait for the day, inasmuch as they were awaiting reinforcements and they would be in the majority and they made us understand this maliciously so that in this way we would be encouraged to attack them at night, supposing them to be less prepared; but this was their ardent desire because between the shore and the houses they had dug ditches into which they expected us to fall on account of the darkness.
>
> For that reason we waited for daytime. Forty-nine of us jumped into the water which reached until the waist, because the ships could not come near to the shore on account of the shallow water and the reefs, and thus we had to wade through the water for a great distance before reaching the shore. The other 11 men remained to guard the boats. When we reached land, the islanders, numbering 1500, were formed into three corps and advanced toward us with terrible outcries, two corps attacking us on the flanks and the other in front. Then the Captain divided his men into two sections. Our musketeers and archers shot from afar for half an hour, but they gained nothing, as the bullets and arrows, though they pierced through their shields made of fine wood, wounded them only in the arms, which did not stop them. The Captain ordered shouting not to shoot, but he was not heeded. The islanders seeing that the blows of our muskets caused them little or no damage, did not want to withdraw any more and shouting then with greater force and jumping here and there to avoid our shots, they came near to us hurling arrows, bamboo lances, sticks sharpened in fire, stones, and even mud, in such a way that we could hardly defend ourselves. Some hurled to the Captain General lances with iron tips.
>
> Seeing this the Captain ordered some of our men to set on fire the houses in order to drive away such a throng and terrorize them

maintain their position with a single vessel, named the "Victoria", left to the Spanish expedition out of the original fleet, they departed from the Moluccas with Juan Sebastián del Caño as chieftain and Captain who led back the Spaniards by way of India to Castile, where he arrived with a few men and reported to His Majesty the discovery of the Islands of the large Archipelago; and on his expedition.

The same enterprise was attempted at other times by Juan Sebastián del Caño and Commander Loaisa

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but this made them more furious. Some ran to the fire that burned from twenty to thirty houses, and there by killed two of our men. The others advanced toward us with greater fury. They discovered that our bodies were protected but our legs were uncovered and aimed at them principally. In fact, a poisoned arrow pierced the right leg of the Captain for which reason he ordered us to retreat little by little; but almost all of our men fled hurriedly in such a way that hardly seven or eight of us remained with him. We were overwhelmed by the lances and stones that the enemies hurtled and we could not resist any more. The lombards that we had in the crafts did not help us because they were too far from land on account of the low tide. Therefore, we retreated little by little, always fighting and only a short distance separated us from the shore, submerged in the water until the knees. The islanders followed us and picking up the lances already hurled, they threw them to us five and six times, their shots being directed specially to the Captain who they knew; but he, together with a few of our men, remained at their place like a good gentleman, without wanting to retreat more than the rest. Thus we fought for more than an hour until an Indio succeeded to hurl a bamboo lance to his face. Then irritated, he hurled him his own lance which hit his breast and there he left it; but in wishing to unsheathe his sword, he did not succeed more than half way because of a wound he received in the right arm from a cane. Seeing this, the enemies all came over him and one of them with a large *kampilan*, which was equivalent to a large falchion, dealt him a big cut on the left leg that made him fall head-long to the ground. Then the Indios with cane lances with iron tips, with falchions, and with other arms that they had, hurled over him and wounded him until they deprived of life the mirror, the light, the solace, our true guide. While they pressed him down in that way, more than once he turned back to see if we were safe, as his obstinate resistance had no other object but to cover up the retreat of his men. Those of us who fought beside him until the end and were covered with wounds, seeing him dead, we too went to our crafts which were ready to depart. This fatal battle took place on 27 (28) April 1521. Saturday, (Sunday), a day chosen by the Captain himself for his special devotion to it. With him died of eight of our men and four Indios of those who had been baptized. We also had wounded men among whom I count myself. The enemies did not lose more than 15 men. . .

The Christian king could have helped us in fact and he would have done it, but our Captain, far from forseeing what occurred, upon going down ashore with his men, had requested him not to leave his *balangai*, wishing him to watch from there how we fought. When he learned about the Captain's death, he wept bitterly.

(Pigafetta, *Primo Viagio intorno al Mondo. book II*). "Fr. Andrés de Urdaneta for new Spain. . ." (1) (p. 7.)

and the Saonese and the Bishop of Placencia, but they did not achieve the result expected owing to the great trouble and dangers involved in such a long voyage, and the encounters with the Portuguese in the Moluccas had by those who reached that destination.

After the occurence of all these events, it having seemed to them that said discoveries would be accomplished better and sooner from New Spain, — in the year of Our Lord Fifteen Hundred and forty-five, a fleet was sent out from that part of the world under the command of Rui Lopez de Villalobos, passing by Sebú and reaching the Moluccas, where they had several encounters with the Portuguese, mishaps and hardships, for which reason they did not achieve the purpose they had anticipated, neither could the fleet return to New Spain from which it had started, but was broken up instead. Some of the remaining Spaniards departed from the Moluccas through Portuguese India and proceeded to Castile where they reported regarding their hardships during their expedition, also of the nature, quality and wealth of the Moluccas Islands and other ones they had seen on the way.

It appearing to the King Our Lord, Philip II that it was not to his advantage to abandon the said enterprise, and having been apprized by Don Luis de Velasco, Viceroy of New Spain and by Fr. Andrés de Urdaneta of the Order of Saint Augustine — who when still a layman had been in the Moluccas with the fleet of Commander Loaisa — to the effect that this voyage could be made better and shorter by starting from New Spain, the King entrusted the expedition to the Viceroy. Father Andrés de Urdaneta departed from the Court of Madrid to New Spain.[1] He was such an expert pilot and good geographer that he offered himself to go with the fleet assuring that he would discover the route back. In the Port of Navidad (Christmas) in the South Sea, the Viceroy fitted out a fleet and its personnel together with everything necessary therefor under the command of Miguel Lopez de Legaspi, a resident of México and native of the Province of Guipuzcoa, a person of quality and worthy of trust. In view of the demise of the Viceroy, the *Audiencia* or Royal Court which was then governing in lieu of the latter, gave Legaspi the final orders to depart with sealed instructions as to when he should proceed to, with orders not to open them until he should be three hundred leagues out on the high seas. In view of certain differences of opinion between those belonging to the expeditionary fleet, as some argued that it was better to go to New Guinea, others to Luzon, while still others preferred the Moluccas. Miguel Lopez de Legaspi set sail in the year Fifteen Hundred and Sixty-four, A.D., from the Port of Navidad, with five sailing vessels and five hundred men, together with Fr. Andrés de Urdaneta and four (4) other priests of the Order of St. Augustine under him. Having sailed for several days toward the West, he opened his sealed orders and read that he was commanded to proceed to the islands of Luzón, where he was to pacify the people and reduce them to obedience to His Majesty, and that the natives should receive the Holy Catholic Faith. He sailed on until he reached the Island of Cebú where he saw a comfortable port, and beautiful lands, so he stayed there for the time being, first received peacefully by the natives of the Island and their Chief Tupas.

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[1] Fr. Andrés de Urdaneta received the order of Philip II when he was in Mexico and it was he who designated Legaspi to be the head of the expedition, but it was not his intention to go to the Philippines but to New Guinea, according to Fr. Gaspar de San Agustín.

Afterwards they wanted to kill him and his companions for the reason that having unloaded their supplies, the natives took their arms against the Spaniards, but the result was contrary to what they had expected, as the Spaniards defeated and captured them. Having seen what had happened in Sebú, the natives of other neighboring islands came in peace to the *Adelantado* or Admiral and submitted to him. They supplied the camp with provisions, and the first settlement of Spaniards was made in that port, which they named the City of the Most Holy Name of Jesus,[1] for the reason that in one of the native houses they had found when the Spaniards had defeated the natives, a wooden image of Jesus, believed to have been left there by those of the Magellan fleet,[1] and the natives held the image in great veneration because in time of need, it produced miraculous results to them. They placed the same in the Monastery of Saint Augustine which was built in that city.

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[1] At first it was called "Villa de San Miguel", according to Father Gaspar de San Agustín.

That same year, the Admiral sent out the flag-vessel of the fleet to New Spain, bearing a report of everything which had happened during the voyage and in the settlement in Sebú, and calling for reinforcements and supplies in order to continue with the pacification of the islands. Aboard the vessel was Father Andrés de Urdaneta and a companion, Dr. Andrés de Aguirre.

One of the vessels which had sailed for the Port of Navidad (Christmas) as reserve to the Fleet under the command of Don Alonso de Arellano, was piloted by Lope Martín, a mulatto and good sailor, although rather restless. As he was approaching the islands, he sailed on ahead of the Admiral (*Adelantado*), and reached the islands. Obtaining some provisions, he turned about and sailed back toward New Spain to the North thereof, for the reason either that he had in the first place hardly been disposed to undertake the voyage to the islands, or in order that he might obtain the reward for discovering the way back to New Spain. He arrived there soon and reported having seen the Islands and had discovered the route to them, making certain statements to justify his return without any leave from the Admiral or knowing what had happened to him. Don Alonso de Arellano was well received by the *Audiencia* or Supreme Court which was then governing the country, and the matter of rewarding him and his pilot became the subject of deliberation. This would have been accomplished had not the Admiral's vessel arrived at this time[1] after making the same voyage, and made a true report of what had happened and of the conditions prevailing in the Spanish settlement in Sebu; likewise of the conduct of Don Alonso de Arellano who with his vessel and without any orders or need to do so, had sailed ahead of the Fleet to reach the Islands and then disappeared from sight. He also reported that aside from the Islands which remained in peace and which had submitted to obedience to His Majesty, there were many other large and rich islands having much population, provisions and gold which were awaiting pacification. These could be taken by means of the reinforcements and supplies at present being requisitioned; all of which Islands had been called by the Admiral "the Philippine Islands"[2] out of deference to His Majesty. The supplies and reinforcements were later sent out and this has continued to be done every year according to the prevailing needs with which to win and maintain the new lands.

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[1] In fact, this image that many priests, among them Fr. Gaspar de San Agustín, believed was brought there by the angels, was a gift of Officer Antonio Pigafetta of the Magellan expedition to the queen of Sebú. "*Lo feci vedere alla Regina un' immagine di Nostra Signora, una statuetta di legno rappresentante il Bambin Gesu, ed una croce... La Regina mi chiese il Bambino por tenerlo in luogo de suoi idoli, e a lei lo diedi... Il Capitano in quell' accasione approvo il dono che io aveva fatto alla Regina della statuetta del Bambin Gesu, raccomandole dei metterla al luogo de suoi idoli, perche era una memoria del Rigliuolo di Dio; ed ella tutto promise di fare, e molto caro sel teme.*"

(Pigafetta, da Carlo Amoretti, *Primo Viaggio intorno al Mondo.* Book II.)

(I showed the Queen an image of Our Lady, a wooden statuette of the Infant Jesus, and a cross... The Queen asked for the Infant Jesus to put in place of her idol and I gave it to her... The Captain on that ocassion approved the gift of the statuette of the Infant Jesus I have given the Queen, recommending to her that she put it in place of her idol, because it is a remembrance of the Son of God; she promised to do so and to hold it very dearly.")

The Admiral having taken cognizance of the fact that there were other islands around Sebú, which abounded in provisions, he sent out to them some Spaniards to bring over some peaceful natives, with rice for the settlement, with whom he entertained and maintained himself in the best way he could, until he had left for the island of Panay, from whence he sent out Martín de Goiti his Master of the Camp, together with other Captains with as many men as were deemed sufficient, to the Island of Luzón, they being led or piloted by a headman by the name of Mahomet, a native of the latter, for the purpose of pacifying the same and reducing the same to obedience to His Majesty. Upon their arrival in Manila Bay, they found the settlement on the shores of the Bay beside a large river, governed and fortified by a Chief named Rajahmura[1] and, opposite the settlement and across the river, there was another large settlement named Tondo, likewise under another Chieftain, Rajah Matanda[2] (old Rajah), which settlements had strong buildings made of palm-trees and heavy posts,[3] fortified with a considerable number of light brass cannon or mortars and other large pieces of chamber-artillery.

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[1] Alonso de Arellano had already gone to the Court to ask for the prize.

[2] Legaspi was not the first to give the name *Filipinas* to the Archipelago. In Villalobos fleet, according to Juan Gaetan, Tendaya was called *Filipina.* (Ramusio: *Tendaya chiamata Filipina.*)

Martín de Goiti having conferred with the Chieftain and his people, regarding peace and obedience to his King, which was his principal objective, it became necessary for him and his men to come to blows with them, and the Spaniards entered the land and occupied the same through the strength of their artillery, on the day of Saint Potenciana, the nineteenth of May, fifteen hundred and seventy one,[4] when the natives and their chieftain sued for peace and yielded obedience to the Spaniards; and still many other natives in the Island of Luzon did the same.[5]

The news of the capture of Manila together with its occupation by the Spaniards having reached Admiral

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[1] Rajah Soliman. *Rahang Mura* (Young Rajah) in contrast to *Rahang Matanda*(Old Rajah).

[2] Concerning these rajahs and the confusion found among the historians of the Philippines, see the excellent pamphlet of the Filipino Mr. Isabelo de los Reyes entitled *Los Régulos de Manila.* (Various articles.)

[3] *Arigue* is from the Tagalog haligi, a wooden post big enough to support the frame of a house or building.

[4] Morga here confuses evidently the date of the peaceful arrival of Legaspi with the assault of Goiti and Salcedo during which Manila and a large factory of artillery were burned, which occurred in 1570, according to other historians. Goiti did not take possession of Manila but he proceeded to Cavite and afterward to Panay, which makes us a little doubtful of his victory. As to the rest, the Spaniards then for having come following the direction of the sun were, on the question of dates, 16 hours behind with respect to Europe, a condition that lasted until 31 December 1844. So that the arrival of Legaspi was not on the 19 but on the 20 of May and therefore it was not the day of Santa Potenciana but St. Baudelio. Morga's translator, Lord Stanley, says that for this reason this feast was suppressed, which is not altogether accurate for it still exists in the official calendar of the Philippines. The same thing would have to be done with the feast of St. Andrew and other dates, if this is true.

[5] The Sebuanos helped the Spaniards in this expedition for which reason they were exempted from the payment of tribute for a long time.

Legaspi in Panay, and after having placed all matters in order in Sebú and other islands which had been pacified, and having entrusted all the natives thereof to the most meritorious soldiers, instructing them to do whatever might be best for them in Government, said provinces commonly called the Visayas a region of tattooed people,[1] for the reason that the natives thereof have their bodies tattooed with heated instruments, — said Admiral came to Manila with the rest of his forces and was therein well received; and he reaffirmed to the natives and their chieftains his peaceful and friendly intentions and his desire to enforce obedience to the King, which had previously been assured. On the same locality of Manila, which Rajah Mura had donated to the Spaniards as site for their settlement — the Admiral founded and built the City, for the reason that it was a strategical place within well-supplied communities, and in the middle of all the Islands, adopting the same name, Manila, which the natives had given it[2]; he took as much area as was necessary for the site of the City, where the Governor established his seat and residence, and especially fortified it better. This was done in order that his new settlement should become the capital or seat of the Government rendered very much stronger because of the quality and breadth of the site, which is warm and narrow, having the river on one side of the city, the bay on the other and with large swamps and pools behind it which made the City more secure.

From this seat was directed the pacification of the other provinces of the Island of Luzon and other regions within their daius, some of which offered submission after pacification, while others were conquered through force of arms and owing to the efforts of the priests who spread the Gospel throughout the land, in which endeavor every one participated courageously both in the time of Admiral Miguel Lopez de Legaspi and in that of other Governors who had succeeded him. The land was granted[1] to those who had pacified and settled the same, thus placing under the Royal Crown, capitals of provinces, ports and settlements of the cities and *villas* or privileged town, which had been established together with private grants or *encomiendas* for whatever purposes might be served, at the expense of the Royal Treasury, attending to governmental affairs and the conversion of the natives which was so important and necessary, there being every year a voyage undertaken by vessels making the same to New Spain, and returning with the ordinary and regular merchandise and provisions, with all of which the Philippine Islands enjoy at present satisfactory conditions, both in the spiritual and material sense as is well known to all.

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[1] Isn't there a typographical error here? It ought to be "from the Bisayas or from the Pintados." (tattoed people).

[2] The Tagalogs call it "maynila".

As has been stated, Admiral Miguel Lopez de Legaspi discovered the Islands and settled them, making a good beginning in their pacification and subjection. He established the City of the Most Holy Name of Jesus,[2] in the province of the tattoed people (Sebú); afterwards the City of Manila in the Island of Luzon. In the latter Island he subdued the Province of Ilocos, the settlement and port of which named Vigan, he established a colony of Spaniards which he named the Villa Fernandina[3] or privileged town. He likewise pacified the province of Pangasinan and the Island of Mindoro, assessed the tribute or taxes to be paid by the natives throughout the Islands[1] and made many other dispositions regarding the government and conversion of the people of the Islands until he died in the year fifteen hundred and seventy-four A.D. in Manila where his body lies buried in the Monastery or church of Saint Augustine.

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[1] That is, it was apportioned. This word *encomendóse* from *encomendar*, like that of *pacificar*, later acquired an erroneous meaning: *encomendar una provincia* (entrust a province) was like saying: To give up a province to plunder, cruelty, and covetousness of some one, as the *Encomenderos* later proved it.

[2] He founded it with all the rights and privileges of the Spanish cities and political communities.

[3] More exactly, it was his grandson Salcedo. This hero, called the Hernán Cortes of the Philippines, was really the intelligent arm of Legaspi and who, throught his astuteness, excellent qualities, talents, and personal valor won the sympathy of the Filipincs. He subdued the enemies and inclined them to peace and amity with the Spaniards. He was also the one who saved Manila from Limahong. He died at the age of 27 years and he is the only one we know who made the Indios of his *encomienda* of Bigan the heirs of the greater part of his estate. (Gaspar de San Agustín)

Upon the death of the Admiral, a sealed envelope from the *Audiencia* or Supreme Court, of Mexico, which was governing the country at the time the fleet departed from New Spain was found among his papers, containing the designation of Guido de Lavazaris, who was a Royal official, in the event of the default of the Admiral; pursuant to said apointment, Don Guido assumed office as Governor, and his orders were obeyed. He continued the work of pacification and conversion of the people of the Islands, with prudence, courage and diplomacy; and he governed the Islands satisfactorily.

During his administration, the corsair Limahong came from China with a fleet consisting of seventy large vessels and many warriors, and entered the City of Manila, and killed the Master of the Camp, Martín de Goiti, in his own house and other Spaniards who were present there, from which place he proceeded to the fortress where the Spaniards were gathered together, and these being very few, he was able to take the country and to lord it over the people. With the reinforcements which arrived as aid from Vigan, brought over by Captain Juan de Salcedo, consisting of the men under his command, upon seeing Limahong passing on his way from China along the coast of Ilocos, as he proceeded to Manila, — the Spaniards and their men defended themselves so gallantly that they killed many of Limahong's men and compelled him to seek protection on his vessel and take flight from the Bay, entering Pangasinan River, where the Spaniards sought him[1] and burned his fleet. This corsair was hemmed in by them on land for several days, until he built small boats under cover therein, and escaped thence to the open sea thereby abandoning the Islands.[2]

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[1] He fixed the tribute that the natives ought to give to their *Encomenderos*", says Fr. San Agustín (page 245) "and it was a cotton blanket, in the provinces where cloth was woven whose value is four *reales*, two fanegas of rice and a hen, and this is once every year; those who did not have blankets should give its value in other kind that is produced in that town, and where no rice is grown, they should give two reales and half real in exchange for the hen."

During the incumbency of Governor Guido de Lavazarris, trade and commerce relations were established between the great country of China and Manila; and each year vessels arrived in the latter port bringing merchandise, the Governor receiving and welcoming them. With each year the volume of trade increased between the two countries.

This same Governor divided all the land included in the pacified portion of Luzon and neighboring lands into *encomiendas* or grants, among the conquerors and existing settlers. He took for himself in the manner of a grant, the towns of Betis and Lubao, in the province of Pampanga, together with other important localities, of which the next Governor who succeeded him, dispossessed him. Later on, in view of the good services rendered by him, his Majesty made him a present of them and he enjoyed them together with the office or title of Master of the Camp of the Islands during the rest of his life.

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[1] "They were also accompanied by 1500 friendly Indios from the islands of Zebú, Bohol, Leyte, and Panay with many other Indio servants and crew for the boats...." Lacandola with his sons and relatives also went, besides 200 Bisayans and many other Indios who joined in Pangasinan. (Gaspar de San Agustín)

[2] Consult the pamphlet *Li-Ma-Hong* of Mr. Isabelo de los Reyes.

SECOND CHAPTER

Of the term of Governor Dr. Francisco de Sande; and events happening then in the Philippines Islands.

The entry into and occupation of the Philippine Islands made by Miguel Lopez de Legaspi and his sudden death having become known in Spain; His Majesty appointed as Captain General of the Philippine Islands, Dr. Francisco de Sande, a native of Cáceres, then Justice of the Audiencia or Royal Court of México, who accordingly made a voyage to the Islands and assumed his Office, in the year Fifteen Hundred and Seventy-Five, A.D.

During his administration, the pacification of the Islands was continued, particularly of the Province of Camarines, carried on by Captain Pedro de Chaves who had to engage the natives several times in fighting, until he defeated and brought them under submission. A settlement of Spaniards was established in the latter province and was given the name of City of Cáceres. Among other enterprises, the Governor undertook in person an expedition to Borneo Island[1] with a fleet of galleys and frigates[2] with which he confronted and defeated the enemy fleet which advanced to meet him, likewise the principal city in which the King of the island had his palace and seat of government. He was detained therein for a few days owing to the illness of some men of his fleet. Being unable to maintain and keep the Spaniards in the Island, he abandoned the same and sailed back to Manila. On his return voyage, Captain Esteban Rodriguez de Figueroa by Governor's orders, sailed to the Island of Joló and engaged the natives and their chieftain in fighting and defeated them. They acknowledged and yielded obedience to His Majesty through him. From there he proceeded to the Island of Mindanao in which he viewed and surveyed the principal river and settlements of the same. He likewise established peace with, and friendship for, the Spaniards in other settlements and the natives therein on his way back to the pacified lands. The Governor sent to New Spain the vessel "San Juanillo" under the command of Captain Juan de Ribera, which vessel was lost at sea and never heard from again.

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[1] If discovery and occupation give the right of annexation, Borneo since then belonged and ought to belong to Spain.

[2] (According to P. S. Agustin, more than fifteen hundred native bowmen from the provinces of Pangasinan and Cagayan and from those of the tattooed people (Visayans) took part in the expedition. The apparent reason for the same was to restore Sirela or Malaela (as Colin calls him), to the throne of which he had been deprived by his brother.

The administration of Doctor Sande lasted until a new Governor and Captain General, Don Gonzalo Ronquillo de Peñalosa arrived from Spain. Upon the termination of his term[1] as Governor, he returned to New Spain to serve as a Justice in México.

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[1] Note how rigorous was the responsibility then required of the governors. There were some who were imprisoned in Manila, one of them being Governor Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera who spent five years in Fort Santiago.

CHAPTER THREE

Of the administration of Don Gonzalo Ronquillo de Peñalosa and Diego Ronquillo who served the same office, upon the death of the former.

The Court of His Majesty having been well apprized of the conditions prevailing in the Philippine Islands and of the existing necessity of the latter for settlers and people to continue pacifying the same; and in order that this activity may be improved and carried out with the least possible expense to the Royal Treasury, it was decided to appoint Don Gonzalo Ronquillo de Peñalosa, a native of Arévalo, *alguacil mayor* or honorary bailiff of the *Audiencia* or Supreme Court of Mexico, who used to frequent the Royal Court, that he be, as he in fact was, designated Governor of the Philippine Islands for life. He was to take with him to the Philippines, six hundred men both single and married from the Kingdom of Castile, for which purpose His Majesty supplied him with goods and commodities and other presents as a reward for this service.

Don Gonzalo prepared himself for the journey and upon having gathered together his men and having had them ready for sailing in the port of Saint Lucar de Barrameda, when the fleet departed from the bar, one of the vessels was lost. Then the fleet was reformed but it was not as well supplied as before, and it proceeded with the journey along the coast and took aboard its men in Panama, along the Southern Seas, setting sail for the Philippine Islands at which they arrived; and Don Gonzalo Ronquillo assumed his office as Governor in the year Fifteen Hundred and Eighty of Our Lord.

Don Gonzalo Ronquillo established a settlement of Spaniards in Otón[1], on the Island of Panay, which was given the name of "Villa de Arévalo". During his administration, trading with the Chinese increased considerably and a Chinese Quarter or town (*Parian*) was provided for them within the City, where they could display and offer their merchandise for sale. The Government endeavored to discover or find the route from the Islands to New Spain through the South Seas and accordingly, he sent out Captain Don Juan Ronquillo del Castillo his cousin, for the purpose, but this did not produce any good result, because after sailing for some time until they reached New Guinea, against many adverse winds, he was unable to proceed forward, and so he sailed back to the Philippine Islands. He likewise sent out another vessel under Don Gonzalo de Ronquillo de Vallesteros, to Perú, with some merchandise which were said to be necessary for the Philippines and he returned from Perú and found that the Governor had died. He imposed a two per centum duty on merchandise brought by the Chinese to the Philippines. Notwithstanding the fact that he had been reprimanded because the duties were imposed without orders from His Majesty, said duties were however continued to be assessed and imposed on subsequent shipments.

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[1] Ogton.

During the same administration, inasmuch as His Majesty had succeeded to the throne of Portugal and having ordered the Governor at Manila to maintain good relations with the Captain Commander of the fortress in the Island of Tydore in the Moluccas and to go to his assistance whenever necessary; — he sent a fleet and fighting men from Manila under the command of Captain Don Juan Ronquillo del Castillo, upon request of Diego de Azambuja, Captain Commander of Tydore, for the expedition to and conquest of the Island of Terrenate, which expedition, upon reaching Moluccas, did not bring the benefits which had been anticipated.[1] From then on, reinforcements of men and materials were continued to be sent from the Philippines to the fortress of Tydore.

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[1] This expedition was unsuccessful on account of the outbreak of beriberi in the Spanish camp, more than four fifths contracting the disease. There went more than 1500 Indios from the most bellicose provinces and the largest number from Cagayan and Pampanga."

During this Administration, the Province of Cagayan[1] in the Island of Luzón and frontier of China, was pacifíed for the first time through Captain Juan Pablos de Carrion, who established therein a settlement for Spaniards and gave to the same the name of Nueva Segovia, and drove away from it a Japanese Corsair[2] who had taken possession of and fortified said port, with some vessels he had brought over with him.

A few days after Don Gonzalo Ronquillo had assumed the Governorship, he sent out a small fleet consisting of a galley and a few frigates under the command of Captain Gabriel de Ribera to discover the coast and settlements of the Island of Borneo and from there, to proceed to the Kingdom of Patan[3] on the mainland from which pepper is obtained. He sailed along the coast of Borneo, and making his survey thereof, and in view of the fact that his time was up and he lacked provisions, he brought his fleet back to Manila, from which latter place he was sent by the Governor to Spain bearing his own authority as well as that of the Islands, for the purpose of negotiating with His Majesty on certain matters concerning the Governor's needs and others which concerned the Islands.[4] He found His Majesty in Portugal and gave to him a few pieces of gold and other curios which he was bringing with him for this very purpose, and then discussed the purpose of his trip, from all of which the result was that, His Majesty having conferred on him the title of Marshall of Bonbon, gave him further rewards for undertaking this journey, and made the proper dispositions regarding the business he had come to discuss.

Governor Gonzalo Ronquillo was the first bishop to be elected for the Philippines under the name of Fr. Donmingo de Salazar of the Order of Saint Dominic who was a person of great erudition and holiness, who, upon reaching the Islands assumed the Governorship thereof and ecclesiastical authority which latter had been first invested on the friars of Saint Augustine and who took part in the conquest, later on those of the barefoot Franciscans who were engaged in the conversion of the natives. The Bishop built his cathedral church in the City of Manila through apostolic bulls, sinecures and offices, out of the Royal Treasury, meanwhile there were no tithes and ecclesiastical fees with which to maintain itself, and whatever was necessary for the service and ornamentation of the church and religious worship which was celebrated in the same, with considerable solemnity and pomp. Bishop Fr. Domingo Salazar brought over with him Antonio Sedeño and Alonso Sanchez who were priests and austere persons of the Society of Jesus, they being the first ones to establish the denomination in the Philippines, which afterwards became widely spread over the land of the great advantage and benefit to the doctrine and conversion of the natives, and to the gratification of the Spaniards as well as to the education and tutoring of the latter's children in their studies.

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[1] They took advantage of the enmities among the natives themselves and especially of the rivalries between two brothers who were chiefs, without which it would have been impossible to subdue them, as Gaspar de San Agustín insinuates.

[2] His name was Zaizufu.

[3] This should not be confused with the Patán of India which is a city; here it should be understood as Patani, on the N. E. coast of the peninsula of Malacca.

[4] This was the first envoy of the Philippines to negotiate with the King concerning the needs of the country.

Don Gonzalo Ronquillo enjoyed such poor health since he assumed the Governorship, that he died in the year Fifteen Hundred and Eighty Three of Our Lord, and his body was buried in the Church of Saint Augustine in Manila.

He was succeeded as Governor by Diego Ronquillo, his relative, through the designation which Don Gonzalo had made in his favor, on the strength of the authority from His Majesty which he possessed. The incumbent went ahead with the work which Don Gonzalo had commenced, particularly in the periodical assistance to the Moluccas and other enterprises of pacification in the Islands.

During the same incumbency of Diego Ronquillo, there was a conflagration in Manila which started from the Church of Saint Augustine at midday, while the doors were closed[1] and the fire spread out so fast that the whole City was aflame in a few hours, for the reason that the City buildings were made of wooden materials, and much wearing-apparrel and money were lost, and some persons were subjected to danger. Pressed by great necessity, the City was then rebuilt through great effort and labor, and the Spaniards became poor and needy thereby.

Regarding the negotiations made by Marshall Gabriel de Ribera in the Court of Madrid, although at the time it was not yet known that Governor Don Gonzalo Ronquillo had died, the most important outcome was the giving of the order to establish the *Audiencia Real* or Supreme Court in the City of Manila, to be presided over by the Captain General of the entire Philippine Islands. For this purpose, the necessary communications were accordingly prepared designating Dr. Santiago de Vera, the Chief Justice of the *Audiencia* of México, a native of the *Villa de* Alcalá de Henares, who then proceeded to the Islands with the regular vessel carrying the provisions sent by New Spain, and carrying with him the Royal Seal of the Court, together with the associate justices whom His Majesty was sending for said *Real Audiencia.* These Justices and Attorney General were the Advocates Melchor de Avalos and Pedro de Rojas, the Attorney General being Gaspar de Ayala, and at the end of two years, there came the third Justice, Don Antonio de Ribera.

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[1] Its cause was the lights of the sepulchral monument they have put up for the funeral honors of Don Gonzalo Ronquillo. These were held nine days later on the 19, or rather, the 20 March 1583.

FOURTH CHAPTER

Of the Administration of Dr. Santiago de Vera and establishment of the *Audiencia* or Supreme Court in Manila until it was abolished; and of what happened at said time.

The Chief Justice and Associate Justices arrived in Manila in the month of May, Fifteen Hundred and Eighty Four, year of Our Lord, during the incumbency of Governor Diego Ronquillo. Dr. Santiago de Vera assumed his Office as Governor and then he established the *Audiencia* or Supreme Court. Then the Royal Seal was received and put in its proper keeping-place with due solemnity, accompanied by such adequate festivities as were possible, after which, official business was taken up both referring to Justice, War and Administration to the great benefit of the country. At this time, additional financial assistance for the Moluccas was continued, likewise for ventures or conquests, were provided, such as the Captain Commander of Tydore wished to undertake of the Island of Terrenate; and for this purpose, there departed Captain Pedro Sarmiento, and again Captain and sergeant-major Juan de Moron. However, none of the expeditions made for this purpose brought forth the desired result.

At the same time, Chief Justice and Captain General Santiago de Vera continued to pacify some provinces of the Islands and commenced to execute many enterprises which were convenient in several ways. At this period, he discovered a rebellion or an uprising which the natives' principal men of Manila and Pampanga had planned to organize against the Spaniards[1] Justice was meted out to the guilty ones. He caused to be built out of stone in the inner part of the City of Manila, the fortress of *Nuestra Señora de Guia* and ordered the casting of artillery pieces for the city's garrison by an old native foundryman[1] from the Province of Pampanga named Pandaypira, who, together with his sons, practiced the profession for many years until their death.

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[1] Through a Filipino woman, wife of a soldier, this plot was discovered, costing the life of many of the conspirators. (Sinibaldo de Mas.)

During the incumbency of Chief Justice and Captain General Santiago de Vera, the English Admiral Thomas Escander[2] sailed the Straits of Magellan toward the South Seas. He had taken along the coast of New Spain, close to California, the vessel "Santa Ana" as it was coming from the Philippine Islands loaded with much gold and valuable merchandise,[3] and from there sailed toward the Philippine Islands, and entered the provinces of the tattooed natives (Visayas) within view of the *Villa de Arévalo*, and the dockyard[4] where they were building a galleon to be used in the Manila — New Spain line. The Englishmen attempted to burn the vessel, but Manuel Lorenzo de Lemos, who was helping in its construction,[5] fought him off. The English sailed away along the coasts of India from where he proceeded to England following the same route of their countryman Francis Drake[6] who had also gone through the same Straits of Magellan to the coast of Perú where they seized much booty.

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[1] That is, an Indio who already knew how to found cannons even before the arrival of the Spaniards, hence the epithet "old". In this difficult branch of metallurgy, as in others, the present-day Filipinos or the new Indios are very much behind the old Indios.

[2] This English admiral was called Cavendish. Gaspar de San Agustín calls him Escandessch or Cande; Mas, Eschadesch; Colin, Embleg, Vimble ,*etc.*

[3] He took from the ship *Santa Ana* 122,000 pesos in gold, besides a large quantity of textiles of silk, satin, and damask, musk, and stores of provisions. Cavendish left in Seguro port with foodstuff and implements all the prisoners numbering 150 except two Japanese boys, three Filipinos, one Portuguese, and one Spanish expert pilot whom he retained in his possession. The *Santa Ana* had defended herself valiantly. (Sir Thomas Cavendish's *Voyage* around the World.)

[4] Since the beginning, boats were made in the country... Does this not show culture among the natives? Today this industry has been reduced to minor crafts and some vessels for the coasting trade.

[5] Perhaps for self-love this occurrence is not mentioned in the cited book though it dealt with various curious things in the Philippines, such as the reception accorded him by the *caciques* and the hanging of the Spanish pilot at Kapul for wanting to deliver the boat to the Spaniards. The only he says about the island of Panamao is the following: "The following day, 24 June (1588), they sailed toward the N.W. (S.W.) sailing by various islands where the Spaniards, alarmed, lighted bonfires watching closely all night and shooting incessantly. They passed the island of Panama, a level country. abounding in tall trees, suitable for making topmasts, and has various gold mines owned by the Indios.

[6] Francis Drake. He did not come to the Philippines. He had only been to the Marianas and from there he went to the Moluccas. (Sir Francis Drake's *Voyage*)

At this time, it seemed to the *Audiencia* and the Bishop, convenient to send to His Majesty's Court a person of distinction and good standing, to report on the conditions obtaining in the Philippine Islands with regard to all matters therein. It was likewise decided that certain necessary things be asked to be provided for; and that representations be likewise particularly made to the effect that the *Audiencia* or Supreme Court which had been established, could for the present be dispensed with, for the reason that the country was just being developed and said *Audiencia* turns out to be a great burden to all concerned. There was elected for this mission, Father Alonso Sanchez of the Society of Jesus, a very erudite and practical man on temporal matters as well as quite active in business. The proper instructions were accordingly given and the authority granted by all the classes, religious orders and denominations regarding the matters which he had to discuss and negotiate about in Spain, and also near His Holiness at his Court of Rome which he had to visit on his way. This minister having arrived in Madrid, proceeded to negotiate with His Majesty in accordance with what he considered proper to take up and solicit, then he proceeded to Rome where he introduced himself as ambassador of all the denominations in the Philippine Islands[1], On his part, he kissed the foot of the Pontiff and visited the resting-places of the Pontiffs who had held the office after the death of Sixtus V; and after the Pope had given him his thanks together with indulgences and many relics, bulls and letters for the Philippine Islands, the ambassador returned to Spain. Here he again negotiated for the business which had been left under advisement before he departed for Rome. His Majesty took cognizance of whatever matters he had brought from the Pontiff, then heard him fully regarding the matters from the Philippine Islands. Through private audiences he listened to the business discussed by the ambassador and granted what he sought after; and most of what was granted appeared from the communications he received in the Philippine Islands to be even beyond the instructions given him, and the objectives sought by the Bishop, the *Audiencia*, the City and its inhabitants and the grantees (*encomenderose*). Some of the concessions received were even detrimental to the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands, some of whom were displeased with Father Alonso Sanchez who remained in Spain. There had been negotiated the abolishment of the *Audiencia* of Manila, and that a new Governor be sent to Manila, even naming the candidate for the position, Gomez Perez Dasmariñas, with whom he had had good connections, and who had been Justice of Leon and later, Murcia. At the time, he was at the Royal Court about to become Justice of Logroño and Calahorra. His Majesty designated him Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands and increased the salary for the position to ten thousand Castile ducats per annum[1], included him in the Military Order of Saint James (Santiago), also granting him a goodly allowance for traveling purposes. Provided with the necessary orders not only for the use of his office but also with regard to the abolition of the *Audiencia* then existing in Manila, and to install therein a Camp for four hundred soldiers and their officers, paid by His Majesty to serve as garrison and to defend the country, the King bade him embark on a voyage to New Spain with the vessels sailing in Fifteen Hundred and Eighty Nine, Year of Our Lord, which sailed with the Viceroy Don Luis de Velasco, who was on his way to govern New Spain. Governor Gomez Perez Dasmariñas finished his business in México as soon as possible, and together with the vessels, soldiers and captains which were necessary, he undertook the voyage to the Philippine Islands, where he arrived in the month of May of the Year of Our Lord, Fifteen Hundred and Ninety.

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[1] His mission, similar to that of the present deputy, had however greater importance, for he was a kind of counselor or representative close to the absolute monarch of the time.

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[1] Some 5,000 pesos today.

FIFTH CHAPTER

The administration of Gomez Perez Dasmariñas and the Licentiate Pedro de Rojas who was elected to the Governorship in Manila upon the death of the former, until Luis Dasmariñas was acknowledged Governor in lieu of his father Gomez Perez.

Upon the arrival in the Philippine Islands of Gomez Perez Dasmariñas, he was received with fair gratification. He abolished the *Audiencia* and turned over the work of the Chief Justice and Associate Justices, advocate and other officials, to Licentiate Heruer del Coral, whom the Viceroy Don Luis de Velasco had sent over for this purpose, by virtue of a Royal order he possessed. The new Governor commenced his administration by establishing his military camp and accomplishing many things along different lines, with great enthusiasm and energy, according to authority and instructions which he possessed, sparing no efforts and pains on his part. The first thing he did was to build a wall around the City with such zeal and determination[1] that before he died he had almost finished its construction, likewise an inner fortress on the side of the City of Manila where the old wooden fort used to be, and named the same Santiago or Saint James, and emplaced thereon a few artillery pieces. He razed to the ground the fortress of *Nuestra Señora de Guia* (Our Lady of Guidance) which his predecessor had built. He built the Cathedral Church of Manila of stone, and encouraged the inhabitants of the City to continue building their stone houses which they had commenced to build only a few days before,[1] the Bishop being the first one to set an example with his own house.[2] He increased the trade with China and further developed navigation to and from New Spain, and the clearance of the vessels on this run. He built some galleys for coast defense; pacified the Zambales people which had risen up. He sent out his son Don Luis Dasmariñas belonging to the Order of Alcantara and his men from Manila into the interior of Luzon Island crossing the region from the Itui River[3] and other provinces not yet discovered or seen by the Spaniards as far North as Cagayan. He established a foundry in Manila for casting artillery pieces, but owing to lack of master smelters, only a few heavy pieces of artillery could be manufactured.[4]

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[1] Gaspar de San Agustín says that these walls had 12,843 geometrical feet and were constructed without expense to the Royal Treasury.

With the first year of his Administration, he sent to New Spain the Chief Justice and Associate Justices of the *Audiencia* or Royal (Supreme) Court who had been eased out. However, by order of His Majesty, Licentiate Pedro de Rojas the ranking justice, remained with the Governor to be *teniente asesor* (lieutenant judge) in trial cases until a few years later having transpired, He was appointed Mayor of Mexico.

During the incumbency of Gomez Perez, the State and the peaceful relations between the Spaniards in the Philippines and the Japanese, began to be disturbed for the reason that for several years before, there had arrived in Manila several vessels from the port of Nagasaki, Japan, bringing flour and other merchandise, which had been well received and later cleared. Taicosama,[1] the overlord of Japan, now made a certain move through the instrumentality of Farandaquiemon, one of the Japanese who used to come to Manila, a common and vulgar character, to write gross and arrogant letters to the Governor,[2] to send to him his acknowledgment of suzerainty and to pay him tribute, with the threat that otherwise, he would come with armed forces to destroy the country. His demands and the answers to them took a few years until Taico died.

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[1] Father Chirino, chapter V, says that all these stone buildings were constructed at the suggestion and under the direction of the Jesuit rector Fr. Antonio Sedeño. It seems that the fort of Our Lady of the Guide (Nuestra Señora de Guía) built also under his direction, preceded the Bishop's house. The old wooden cathedral, according to Fr. Chirino, "was made of very stout wooden posts that two men could not embrace them and the woodwork above and below were in the same style." (Chapter II.) What this signifies can be guessed if the work of the Indios then is understood!

[2] The bishop before the governor general. This preferment is edifying to the defenders of civil power.

[3] We have not found this river on the map of Coello that we consulted. We only know something about the missions of Ituy (Blumentritt, *Vocabular*) in Coello and in Murillo Velarde. Is this river the Masalapa or the branch that ends in the River Magat which runs through this part?

[4] This shows that after the death of the Indio Pandaipira, there were no Spaniards who knew how to do what he did, nor were his children as skilled as the father.

During the same period of negotiations with Japan to which the Governor had to attend, the King of Cambodia[3] sent him an ambassador in the person of the Portuguese Diego Belloso, bringing a present of two elephants, offering him friendship and trading facilities in his country, and likewise soliciting his aid against the King of Sian (Siam) who had threatened him. The Governor answered and sent him a horse and some emeralds and other things, but kept stalling him as to the question of aid until another time, and thanking him for the friendship proffered. This was the beginning of the events and expeditions which took place afterwards from Manila to the Kingdoms of Sian and Cambodia, on the Continent of Asia.

From the time that Governor Gomez Perez accepted in Spain the position, and after he assumed said Office, he conceived the desire to undertake an expedition from Manila for the purpose of conquering the Fort of Terrenate in the Moluccas owing to the great importance of this undertaking and its possible success which had not formerly materialized and fructified. He was always making preparations of these things that had to be done in connection with the proposed enterprise and he conducted himself with such secrecy[1] that he did not reveal it to anyone. Then in the year Ninety Three, when he saw that everything he needed for his purposs was ready for the expedition together with nine hundred Spaniards.[2] two hundred sailing vessels including galleys, galliots, frigates, "viceroy"-type and other vessels. He entrusted into the hands of certain people, although not sufficiently for their defense: Diego Ronquillo his Master of the Camp, for Security; as to Administration and Justice, Licentiate Pedro de Rojas. He sent ahead his son Don Luis Dasmariñas, together with all the fleet's men under the command of his Lieutenant-General, to the provinces of the tattooed people, the Visayans, from where they would start the expedition. The Governor remained in Manila where he prepared himself and armed a twenty-eight-bench galley for his transportation. He manned it with good Chinese paid rowers[3] whom, however, he was unable to shakle with chains[4] notwithstanding having spoiled them and to whom he endeavored to explain the presence of fighting weapons on board. Approximately forty Spaniards came aboard the vessel; and aboard its auxiliary force of a few frigates and smaller vessels, there were private persons. He set sail from the Port of Cavite in the month of October, Fifteen Hundred and Ninety-three, A.D., bound for the Visayas of tattooed natives, at which port they were to join the main fleet which awaited there, and then continue the voyage to the Moluccas. On the afternoon of the second day of the voyage, upon reaching the Island of Caza[1], twenty-four leagues from Manila near the coast of the same Island of Luzon, which is called "the Sulphur Point", against considerable wind ahead, the galley made a strong effort to row its way around the point while the wind was blowing, but as they were unable to make any headway, — they stopped and put up their shelters and anchored for the night. Some vessels which followed behind went nearer the shore within sight of the galley and stood by it.

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[1] Taikosama or Hideyosi, the great Japanese emperor, conqueror of Korea, was in his youth a *beto* or stable boy called Hasiba.

[2] Morga's translator, Lord Stanley, gives an extract of this letter taken from the work *The Dutch Memorable Embassies;* we have not been able to find this work in the British Museum.

[3] Note that China, Japan, and Cambodia maintained relations with the Philippines. Later the natives of the last two did not return to this country for a century. The determining causes of this we shall find in the interference of the religious orders in the Philippines of those countries.

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[1] His spies were the Jesuits Gaspar Gómez and Antonio Marta who were then in the Moluccas. (Gaspar de San Agustín, page 462.)

[2] Filipinos must have also gone in the expedition, as Gaspar de San Agustín speaks of Indios martyrized and captured by the Chinese. It was also customary to take along always a thousand or more bowmen, the crew being almost always all Filipinos, the greater part Bisayan. And this is confirmed by Argensola in book 6 in his *Historia de la Conquista de las Moluccas* in which, speaking about this expedition he says:

> With the ammunitions he made four selected galleys; and in order to arm them (as they say there) with a crew, he used a method that was judged rigorous. He ordered that sufficient number of Indios, who were slaves of Indio chiefs, to man the galleys be bought and that the Spanish *encomenderos* pay for them from their funds, fixing the price for each *Indio* at two gold taels (one tael is more or less one ounce) which in other times was the usual price of a slave among them. He promised that the *encomenderos* would afterwards collect from the Royal Treasury all that they would spend. Nevertheless, the harshness was not lessened; because those Indios, improperly called slaves, were treated and loved by their masters like their children: they seated them at their tables and married them off to their children. However, slaves then cost more.

[3] Chinese, according to Gaspar de San Agustín.

[4] With what right?

The Governor and his companions amused themselves astern until late at night playing cards, and after the former had entered his cabin to rest, the other Spaniards also retired to their stations to do likewise, leaving the usual guards along the passage-way, both astern and on the prow. The Chinese rowers who had for three previous days been conspiring to mutiny against the galley-command when they should have a better chance, impelled by the thought of not having to propel the vessels, also because they coveted the money, jewels and other valuables carried on board,[2] and unwilling to lose the chance that they found, had prepared a supply of candles, white clothes to put on and had chosen their leaders to carry out the mutiny, they decided to carry out their plan that same night at the time when all would be tired out, when they felt that the Spaniards should be asleep. Upon the signal being given by one of them and acting together, they put on their white clothes, lighted their candles and wielding their *katanas*[1] or Oriental sabers in their hands, — they attacked together the watchmen and those sleeping in the bowmen's stations and around the prow; and after wounding and killing the Spaniards, the rowers sailed away with the galley. Very few Spaniards escaped, some by swimming and others by taking to their jolly-boats tied to the poop. When the Governor heard the noise within the chamber, and being conscious of trouble in the galley, and that the ruffians were pulling down the shelters and taking possession of the oars, he hurried out of his cabin with his back bare, hearing the scuffle in the round-house. Some Chinese who were waiting for him, struck him down with an Oriental saber cutting his skull in two.[2] He fell wounded down the stairs of the round-house where he was picked up by two servants who were inside, and laid down on his bed where he died, likewise his servants who were struck by pikes inside the round-house. The only Spaniards left alive on the galley were Juan de Cuellar, secretary to the Governor, and Father Montilla[3] of the Order of St. Francis who were sleeping in the middle chamber, and so did not come out. The Chinese did not dare to enter thinking that there were more

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[1] Marikaban.

[2] Gaspar de San Agustín says that "resentful of having been maltreated verbally and the Governor threatening them" for not rowing well, they tried to rebel; there was no right to compel the Chinese to row in the galleys, as they were going to Manila only to trade or to engage in business and occupations. However, this contradicts the reputation of being patient that they enjoy; the Filipinos have been much more long-suffering, because, despite having been several times compelled to row, they never rebelled.

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[1] *Katana* in Japanese means sword.

[2] Fr. Colin says on page 146 that on the same night of the brawl, in the conciergerie of the convent of St. Augustine, the wall appeared cracked where the governor was painted in the very part of the head cracked by the killers. Fr. Gaspar de San Agustín mentioning the same incident adds: "I saw that mark..." and further on he tells us that a soldier was carried by the witches from Manila to Mexico and they came to know the incident there on the same day. The soldier was later sent back to Manila by the Holy Inquisition as those who asserted having known him related to him. Morga, perhaps in order not to give credence to such incidents, not only does not mention them but says positively further ahead (page 37) that the news was not known until Mr. Juan de Velasco came in November 1594, that is, 13 months later. These things should not be surprising, because judging by the books written then, numerous miracles happened in that epoch. The most simple things were reputed to be marvellous, the marvellous being more credible than the natural, specially those touching matters of faith.

[3] There were also Indios, for Fr. Gaspar de San Agustín says on page 464: "The Chinese seized an Indio prisoner and tying him to a cross, they cut open his breast and took out his entrails and after biting them with wry faces, they hurled him with the cross to the sea; and the martyred Indio attained the eternal prize of glory... they left on land the priest and Secretary Cuellar with the other Indio prisoners..."

Spaniards inside. Days later they took them out and left them on the coast of Ilocos on the same Island of Luzon in exchange for a supply of drinking-water which they needed so much on board.

The Spaniards on the other vessels nearer the shore saw from their vessels the lights and heard the noise coming from the galley, but believed that it was some work they were doing there. But after a while they learned that some Spaniards had escaped by swimming but could not give any help and so remained still, seeing that they were few and powerless to help,[1] they gave it up for lost. At dawn next morning, they saw the galley hoisting and holding fast the sails and sailing away under a favorable wind, toward China with no one going to their pursuit.

So the galley sailed away with the wind, along the whole coast of the Island after having supplied itself with water in Ilocos, leaving the secretary and the priest there. Then the galley tried to cross the sea to China and being unable to do so, arrived in Cochin China where the King of Tongkin relieved them of what they carried, together with two pieces of heavy artillery they had taken along for the expedition to the Moluccas, and the Royal Standard, all the jewelry, prizes and money, and allowed the galley to drift along the coast, while the Chinese scattered themselves and fled to different provinces. Thus, Governor Gomez Perez met his unfortunate death which also put an end to his project and expedition to the Moluccas, which terminated his Administration on which he spent a little over three years.

Among the documents which Gomez Perez Dasmariñas had brought from Spain, was an order from His Majesty authorizing him to designate the person whom he should wish to govern in his place, until such time as His Majesty should provide for his regular successor. He had shown this order to several persons in the Islands among the most important ones, making each of them to understand that he would be the one designated, particularly Captain Esteban Rodriguez de Figueroa, living in the Visayas among the tattooed people, a rich and valiant man, being one of the earliest *conquistadores* whom he used in every way he needed him,[1] and who was to go with him to the Moluccas. The mutiny in the galley became very soon known in Manila, and the whole City and the military men who had remained behind, met in the house of Licentiate Pedro de Rojas to deliberate as to what was proper to do under the circumstances; and the first thing they did was to appoint him to be Acting Governor and Captain General. Next they sent Captain Don Juan Ronquillo del Castillo together with other Captains in two frigates, there being no other vessel available, to follow the course of the galley, which was unsuccessful because they did not find it. Likewise, the new Governor sent a message to Don Luis Dasmariñas, the Army and Fleet which were in the Visayas awaiting Governor Gomez Perez, apprizing them of the latter's death, and of the new election made for the Governorship, and ordering him to return to Manila as soon as possible because the City was unprotected, having no forces available for any emergency which might occur.

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[1] The Chinese were not more than 250, but those who were embarked on these ships were private persons or civilians; the bulk of the fleet had been sent ahead.

This intelligence caused considerable grief among the personnel of the Fleet; and Don Luis Dasmariñas on the one hand, and Captain Esteban Rodriguez de Figueroa on the other, determined each for himself to assume the Governorship, believing that the late Governor had designated each one of them to be his successor. With this hope they both sailed together for Manila as quickly as they could, with the best vessels and men of the Fleet, and arrived at the same time in the City. Licentiate Pedro de Rojas, fearing that the late Governor had taken the precaution to leave an order of succession among the desks and documents which he had left at the Church of Saint Augustine in Manila under the care of Fr. Diego Muñoz, Prior and Commissary of the Holy Office, took the necessary steps and made inquiry thereat and although he found a few documents which the Prior had kept in a desk until such time as Don Luis Dasmariñas should arrive in the City, failed to find the one he sought. At this juncture, the Secretary Juan de Cuellar arrived from the Province of Iloilo where he had repaired after he escaped from the galley; and he certified to the effect that the late Gomez Perez had made an appointment for his successor to the Governorship, but failed to say *who* was appointed or where such appointment could be found; and for this reason, Licentiate Pedro de Rojas and his followers became very cautious.

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[1] Morga insinuates how astute was this governor: He was double-dealing and he flattered with hopes those men he could use.

Forty days passed and then, together with Esteban Rodriguez de Figueroa with many men in his entourage, Don Luis Dasmariñas appeared in the Bay and refused to land or enter the City.[1] Then he caused to be made the search of the documents[2] which had been kept in Saint Augustin Church and then, sure enough, appeared the order and appointment in favor of Don Luis Dasmariñas to succeed in the Governorship. Some one in his behalf notified the garrison-regiment of the City which changed sides[3] notwithstanding certain opposition on the part of those in favor of Licentiate Pedro de Rojas. So they called Don Luis Dasmariñas to the house of the ecclesiastical Authorities, and turned over the Government to him. This was likewise done by the militia men which Don Luis had brought with him, and also those of the Fleet who were every day coming over to the side of Don Luis, to the disappointment of Licenciate Rojas, who went back to his former Office of Lieutenant Judge, after having acted as Governor for forty days.

It is true that the death of Governor Gomez Perez Dasmariñas had been unfortunate considering the loss of his person, as well as that of the chance to conquer Terrenate which had been taken for granted. On the other hand, the return of the Fleet the men of which had camped in the City, was quite fortunate for the reason that not so many days later — having figured out the ordinary time it takes to make the voyage — there arrived a number of vessels from China to Manila with a numerous complement of men, but with scarce merchandise, under seven Mandarins, bearing the insignia of their masters afforded sufficient reason for suspicion that they had had previous information of the departure of the Fleet to the Moluccas, leaving the City defenseless, and who had come to try to invade the country but who desisted from their purpose when they found the City to have more men than vessels. Thus they departed without showing any particular reason to justify their visit and exhibiting no concern in any way. Thus Governor Don Luis Dasmariñas became very watchful, and he prepared and made ready all convenient things, especially those concerning the local Chinese and their communities and *Parian* quarters.

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[1] Probably for distrust, fearing to fall into a trap.

[2] Mr. Luis Dasmariñas might know about his appointment.

[3] Changing his mind; previously he had chosen Mr. Pedro Rojas.

This year there were no vessels sailing from the Philippine Islands to New Spain, for the reason that before his expedition to the Moluccas, the late Governor Gomez Perez had sent aboard the vessels "San Felipe" in the Port of Cebu and the "San Francisco" in Manila, from where they were unable to depart until one year later. In New Spain there had been much concern owing to the lack of vessels arriving from abroad, and considerable suspicion that there were difficulties in the Islands; and there were not lacking any persons to say more than what had actually transpired. At the same time, in the City of México they were unable to ascertain where the news had come from,[1] the same having arrived in Spain so quickly by way of India the communications passing from Persia to Venice, that later it was decided to provide for a new Governor.

During the first year of the Administration of Gomez Perez Dasmariñas there commenced to be felt by many, the great need for an *Audiencia* or Supreme Court, because all the power had been vested in the hands of a single person,[1] so that there was no other one to have recourse to. The one who experienced this to a greater extent, was Bishop Fr. Domingo de Salazar, who had had several encounters and much trouble with the Governor, to the extent of being compelled to leave for Spain, despite his advanced age.

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[1] Remember the soldier carried by the witches to the plaza in Mexico. Morga says that it could not be determined from whom the news came.

On that year, the Governor gave him the proper opportunity and even the means of transportation for the voyage in order to keep him far from him. However, at the same time he also sent Fr. Francisco de Ortega of the Augustinian Order fully empowered, to the Spanish Court in order to watch whatever moves may be made by the Bishop, and to defend the Governor's cause. Both reached Spain and each one made such negotiations as were convenient to him. The principal matter on which the Bishop stressed was the request for the restoration of the *Audiencia* or Supreme Court and that other bishoprics be established in the Philippine Islands aside from the one in Manila, and other various matters which seemed convenient to him for the spiritual and temporal welfare of the Islands; and Fr. Ortega opposed him in everything. The authority and virtue of the Bishop were so compelling that even from the beginning, the cause which had urged him to leave his Church and to travel at his age, five thousand leagues across the seas to Spain, appeared to be an easy one to press. Afterwards he was given an audience by His Majesty and the Council, and all his petitions and propositions were favorably considered, and much time and attention were given them. Many consultations were had with His Majesty, in order to elicit his favorable decision thereon.

In the same year Ninety-three in which Gomez Perez died in the Philippine Islands, the Royal Council, after due consultation with His Majesty, decided that the office of *teniente asesor* (lieutenant judge) in criminal cases in which Licentiate Pedro de Rojas had been functioning since the *Audiencia* was abolished, be given greater authority and scope, in view of the prevailing circumstances and that he be invested with the rank of Lieutenant-General; and that with regard to criminal cases, he should take cognizance of said cases when on appeal and not exceeding in value, one thousand Castilian ducats. Then Licentiate Pedro de Rojas was promoted to the Office of Mayor of Mexico; and in order that he should transfer his residence to the Philippine Islands, Dr. Antonio de Morga was appointed Lieutenant General of said Islands, by His Majesty. He came to New Spain on his way to his post in the beginning of the year Ninety-four in which he noted, as has already been stated, that vessels had failed to arrive there from the Philippine Islands. However, the death of Gomez Perez and all that had transpired there had not as yet been known until the month of November of the same year, when Don Juan de Velasco arrived in the galley "Santiago" which had been sent out on the previous year from New Spain, by the Viceroy, Don Luis de Velasco, together with the regular aid for the Islands, and brought the news of the death of the Governor, and how his son Don Luis Dasmariñas became the incumbent Governor General. Then the crew was enlisted; the new aid for the Islands was prepared and many passengers and priests who had come from Spain to join the vessels were received, and Doctor Antonio de Morga took over and assumed all responsibility in the port of Acapulco, for the two galleys "San Felipe" and "Santiago" and, accordingly, set sail on the twenty-second of March in the year of Our Lord (Fifteen Hundred) Ninety-Five. He arrived in good weather conditions in the Port of Cabit (Cavite) on the eleventh of June of the same year, and assumed Office as Lieutenant-General and commenced to perform his duties as such, and in what concerned him most.

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[1] This fault and this defect are still felt at present at the end of three centuries.

While Don Luis Dasmariñas was Governor, the fear and suspicion regarding Japan persisted, and people lived with great concern regarding the matter and with respect to the Chinese problem. The Governor sent his cousin Don Fernando de Castro to China with letters and testimonials for the Viceroy of Canton, and that of Chinchow, where it was believed that many of the Chinese who had mutinied against the Galley and had killed Governor Gomez Perez, could be found in the possibility that they had gone there with the galley, asking for the delivery to them of the guilty ones, with a view to punishing them; likewise of the Spanish Royal Standard and the pieces of artillery, plus the rest of the things they had carried away. This demand did not succeed for the reason that the galley had gone to Cochin-China, and the Chinese had scattered to several places. However, after a few days, some guilty Chinese who had been found there by senior captain Francisco de Silva de Meneses, were brought to Manila from whom the matters of the mutiny occurring on the galley and the death of the Governor were threshed out from the bottom; and justice was meted out to them.

In the year Ninety-four during the incumbency of Governor Don Luis Dasmariñas, there arrived in the Philippines a large junk on which came some Cambodians and Siamese nationals, a few Chinese and three Spaniards, one a Castilian called Blas Ruis de Hernan Gonzales and two Portuguese named Pantaleon Carnero and Antonio Machado. While these were in the Kingdom of Cambodia and City of Chorde-Muco,[1] together with Praunkar[2] Langara, King of Cambodia, the latter was beset by the King of Siam with many warriors and elephants taking possession of the land and the house and treasure of the king, the latter fleeing inland with his wife, mother and sister, a daughter and two sons, up to the Kingdom of the Laos[3]. The King of Siam[1] left some of his captains to guard Cambodia; and returned to his home with the rest of the army, and what he could not take with him by land he sent to Siam by sea through some junks. He captured the Portuguese and Castilians he found there, and placed these on said junk, together with other Cambodian slaves carrying much clothes and Siamese as guards, with Chinese as sailors. Once on the seas, the three Spaniards aided by the Chinese, mutinied in the junk and killed and captured the Siamese guards. Then the Spaniards and the Chinese came to blows among themselves, to determine who should possess the prize, and where they would take it to. The three Spaniards defeated the Chinese and killed most of them. They brought the junk to Manila together with all its cargoes which latter were awarded to them, and the Cambodian slaves were set free as well as the Chinese who had survived this expedition.

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[1] Cho-da-Mukha, according to Lord Stanley, Morga's translator, means in Siamese, the place where the principal mandarins gather, that is, the capital.

[2] Phra-Unkar, "phra" or "pra" is the title given to the kings of Siam and of Cambodia, like, Phra-Chao-Xang-Phok, Phra-Naret, Phra-Norodom, *etc.* It is worth noting that under this name of "Phra", the Egyptians worshipped the sun and gave this same name to their kings and priests, from which probably came the name Pharao.

[3] Farther north of Cambodia.

The King of Siam arriving at his Court in the City of Odia[2] was expecting the junk, and seeing that it took more time to arrive than ordinary navigation required, became suspicious that it had either mutinied or been lost, so he determined to send some one who would bring news about it and details of what had occurred to it. Among those whom he had brought over from Cambodia, he held as prisoner, a Portuguese named Diego Belloso, whom the King Phra Unkar Langara had previously sent to Manila when Gomez Perez Dasmariñas was Governor, to solicit his friendship and aid Against Siam's King who, as already stated, had threatened him. When he returned to Cambodia with the answer of the Governor and brought his gift, he found that the King of Siam had already conquered the land and occupied it. Then Belloso was captured, and the King took the gift and carried Belloso and his captives to his own country. Diego Belloso, having learned about the King of Siam's desires, managed to have a message reach the King, to the effect that he (Belloso) was well versed in the matters of the Archipelago, and that if he were sent by the King, he would reach Manila and bring back news about the junk, and establish friendly relations between Siam and the Spaniards, bringing back many curios from Europe which abound in Manila, particularly a precious and conspicuous stone which the King wanted so much, of such size that it could be made into a handle for the two-handed sword he wore,[1] instead of the small stone which came with the gift, and on which the King could lay his eyes whenever he rode his elephant. On hearing this, the King ordered a junk to be made ready, and assigned to it a Siamese in his service, together with the men necessary for the voyage, to accompany Diego Belloso,[2] carrying two elephants for the Governor of Manila, plus a quantity of benzoin, ivory and other salable merchandise, so that with the proceeds thereof, they could buy the curios which Belloso had mentioned. Upon sailing out to sea, they met a strong wind, and the junk arrived in Malacca where they learned that the other junk of the King of Siam which they had been seeking, had suffered a mutiny when the Spaniards who had departed from Cambodia as prisoners, had revolted and killed the Siamese who guarded them, and taken all the clothes and sailed on said junk to Manila.

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[1] Lord Stanley surmised that there is typographical omission here. It ought to be the King of Siam instead of "The Sian". More than a typographical omission we would say an ellipsis. In that time (and even at present sometimes) it is usual to say China, Japan, Castilla, Manila, for the Chinese, the Japanese, the Castilian, the Manilan, *etc.* "The Sian" here would mean the Siamese and as Morga was speaking of the kings, it is clear that he means the Siamese king.

This is confirmed further ahead.

[2] Odia might be Si-Juthia, or the seat of the kings. (Stanley).

Upon learning these news, the servant of the King of Siam became discouraged to proceed to Manila. He accordingly and against the will of Diego Belloso, started to unload the clothes in Malacca and to sell the same with a view to turn back later to Siam. One morning, the servant of the King of Siam called Aconsi[3], having laid down to sleep in a healthy condition on the previous night,[1] was found dead in the morning, upon which Diego Belloso took possession of everything and, having gathered and reloaded the clothes and the elephants on the junk, departed from Malacca and sailed to Manila where he found Don Luis Dasmariñas to be the Governor therein, in view of the death of his father Gomez Perez; so he gave him the gift of elephants he was bringing from the King of Siam, and apprized him of the other things that had been disposed of; and the remaining clothes and other merchandise were offered for sale by the prominent Siamese in the service of the King who had come on the same junk.

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[1] This was trick for evading.

[2] Gaspar de San Agustín gives him another Castilian companion called Antonio Barrientos. (page 62) (p. 40)

[3] "Aconsi" in Chinese means supercargo. (Stanley).

In Manila, Belloso, Blas Ruiz de Hernan Gonzales and their two other companions got together and agreed to persuade Governor Don Luis Dasmariñas to send an expeditionary fleet to Cambodia to succour King Langara who had retired after having been despoiled of his Kingdom, which would be an easy matter to restore to him on their way for the purpose of enabling the Spaniards to establish a foothold in the Continent, where they could settle and fortify themselves there, thus providing great benefits and advantages.[2] That chose the priests of the Order of St. Dominic, to sponsor their cause before the Governor, whom they easily convinced, considering that the latter always acted on the sole advise of said Order. The Governor decided to fit out a fleet and to man it with as large a complement as possible under the command of the Captain and sergeant-major, Juan Juarez Gallinato, with a fairly good-sized flag-vessel. In support thereof, two junks were provided, one under Don Diego Belloso and the other under Blas Ruiz de Hernan Gonzales, and one hundred and twenty Spaniards, some Japanese and some natives or *indios,* carrying the necessary things with them.

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[1] Stanley opines that Morga suspects Belloso to be the author of this death.

[2] Here the conduct of this Portuguese is doubly censurable: A traitor to the King of Siam whom he had deceived (though he could be excused for this because the king in a certain way was his enemy) and a traitor to the King of Cambodia in whose service he was. This very base custom of going first to a kingdom under the cloak of friendship, of loyalty, or of religion in order later to occupy it and strengthen oneself in it was one of the accusations that the Japanese Empire brought against the Europeans and their missionaries.

This determination did not strike the rest of the people of the City as a wise move, for the reason that so many people were withdrawn from said City, and that the success of the expedition was doubtful. It was said that the land of Cambodia was under the King of Siam who had it well secured, and nothing else was known of the same; besides, the consequences of the expedition would be to make a declared enemy of the King of Siam from whom the Governor had just received a present, and an embassadorial visit through Belloso seeking his friendship; and without even sending him an answer, they were now taking arms against him, owing to representations of a person whom they did not know well, of whom they had no assurances, and to whom they owed no obligations. Lieutenant-General Antonio de Morga, supported by the Master of the Camp, Diego Ronquillo, other captains and prominent persons, made representation to Don Luis against the project, and even petitioned him in writing to desist from carrying out this expedition. Although he had no reason to persist in his project, he had his mind so set on the matter, and having the Dominican priests on his side of the controversy,[1] the Governor did not see fit to change his stand; and in the beginning of the year Ninety-six, he sent out his expeditionary fleet to the Kingdom of Cambodia which generally takes eight days. On the other hand, he sent back the Siamese who had come with Belloso, with a reciprocal present of such things of the country as he thought convenient,[1] but without a definite answer to the King of Siam. The Siamese delegation felt contented enough merely to return to their country, without expecting any other advantage from their voyage.

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[1] It is difficult to excuse this, alleging that the Dominicans thus violated all the laws of the Law of Nations and of honorable politics to propagate the faith. For the faith there was a wide field in the Philippines. At that time more than nine tenths of the Indios were pagans. Even now, the existence of so many non-Christian tribes and settlements discredits this missionary zeal, dormant perhaps on account of the easy life offered by the relatively rich towns which are generous and fond of religious pomp. It is true that it is neither purely for the faith that they have gone to the rich islands of spices and gold. Muslims and Jews there were in Spain and Africa, millions of Indians in the Americas, millions of Protestants, schismatics, and heretics inhabited and inhabit more than seven parts of Europe, all of whom without doubt would have accepted "the light and the true religion", if these monks in trying to preach the light had not abused of the "fire and the bonfire" and if behind the word "religion" had not hidden the word "domination".

The fleet encountered a storm, and the flag-vessel carrying Juan Juarez Gallinato with the majority of the Spaniards, arrived in the Straights of Singapore, near the Moluccas, where it was detained for several days. The two junks of Diego Belloso and Blas Ruiz carrying the Spaniards, some Japanese and natives of Manila, arrived in Cambodia amidst such danger, going up to the Mecon stream, Blas Ruiz being ahead of Belloso as far as the City of Chordemuco. There they learned that the Cambodian Mandarin named Anacaparan had taken possession of the land and governed the same with the title of King, although against the will of his colleagues. It seemed to Diego Belloso and Blas Ruiz and their companions, that they had arrived auspiciously for their purpose, seeing the trouble between the Cambodians, and the King of Siam being outside of his country. Relying that Gallinato and his flag-vessel would arrive shortly, they amused themselves a few days in Chordemuco, with the leave of Anacaparan, residing in Sistor, nine leagues away, who, although he learned of the arrival of the vessels and the men they brought, also that many more men were to arrive, and their object in coming, — he feigned unconcern although he felt that this matter was not so convenient for him; and he wanted to see what would actually transpire. At the same time, six Chinese vessels had arrived in Chordemuco, loaded with merchandise, which they unloaded; and being more numerous than the Spaniards and despising them, they had several aggressive incidents with them.[1] The Spaniards in order to protect their reputation and to satisfy their grievances, were compelled to take up arms against the Chinese, thereby killing many of them and taking possession of their vessels and everything loaded thereon. Anacaparan showed resentment over this matter and was anxious to see the Chinese take their revenge, and to help them himself. In order to remedy this injury, Fr. Alonso Jimenez of the Order of St. Dominic, who was with the Spanish, thought it proper to go upstream in some smaller craft, with Blas Ruiz and Diego Belloso, together with fifty Spaniards and some Japanese and Luzon natives, to Sistor, in order to see Anacaparan and give their excuses and satisfaction[2] for the conduct of the Spaniards in their incident with the Chinese. Therefore, in order the better to negotiate with him, they forged an ambassadorial letter in the name of the Governor in Manila,[3] because Gallinato was bringing with him the real letter given to them by the Governor. This contrivance hardly served any purpose for the reason that Anacaparan, not only refused to grant them an audience, but even deprived them of their vessels and detained them in a very crowded place outside of the City under such threatening circumstances that, if they would not return to the Chinese vessels and whatever cargoes they had taken from them, Anacaparan[1] would kill them. This made them wish vehemently to get back to their own vessels in Chordemuco to be safe. So they determined to devise some means and put the same to execution, as best they could. Seeing the danger in which they were, one night necessity the mother of invention gave them an idea how to get out of this mess even if fraught with considerable danger: They proceeded to find their way out by crossing the river on the way to the city, with weapons in their hands, late at night and in the most absolute silence. Finding themselves near the City, they became bolder and full of determination, they entered the same, went up to the house of the king and set fire to it as well as to the store of munitions, together with all buildings they met on their way, thus creating such confusion among the Cambodians that they were able to kill many people that night and next morning, including the King Anacaparan himself.[2] They did not consider it proper to push forward or to stay

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[1] Luis Dasmariñas on this occasion does not reveal himself either more loyal nor more scrupulous than Belloso: Either accept the gift or, once accepted, fulfill the most simple laws of life.

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[1] The Chinese traders perhaps believed themselves to be the stronger because this nation — and specially their traders — has always been humble and peaceful, but very insolent when it believes itself powerful. They paid with their death and their wealth their gross error of supposing themselves, being mere traders, stronger than the warriors of the expedition, armed and prepared for the campaign.

[2] This step hurts the Spanish cause because, if they acted justly, they need not make excuses or give satisfaction. In fact, Spaniards and Chinese, finding themselves in another kingdom, under a government they recognized, before avenging offenses violently, ought to have complained to the king, and only in case they are not heeded should they take vengeance to save the honor of the nation. That the Spaniards recognized Anacaparan is proven by the step that they later took. Fr. Diego Aduarte claims however in the history he wrote that they had previously warned the king, but he contradicted himself in many points and his account is more of a defense than a strict veracious narration of the happenings in which he, De Morga, that by virtue of his position ought to have then an opportunity to appreciate better the events. Aduarte, though a contemporary, wrote his history later than our author.

[3] This is another step which is so ignoble as well as stupid, unbecoming Castilian loyalty. Neither did they have any reason to forge a letter nor should they anticipate what Gallinato as head of the expedition might dispose, nor make believe that the governor of Manila wrote Anacaparan amicably, whom they considered a usurper, if they wanted to restore to the throne Phra Unkar. All this was undoubtedly acceptable to the policy then in order to gain time; but Fray Alfonso Jimenez, who pretended nothing less than to civilize the Cambodians and bring them "the knowledge of the true Faith and the true Religion," did not show more noble qualities, and if he was a good forger of letters, he was on the other hand a bad politician, for, how was Anacaparan going to believe that letter? Why was not the letter in the possession of the chief? Why do they dispose of it without his know-

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ledge? If the chief was Gallinato, he ought to deal with him and not with Fray Alfonso Jimenez. Fortunately Spain has very many glorious pages of history, for it not, with such adventurers, she would give a good idea of a civilizing nation.

[1] This Anacaparan does not seem such a tyrant as they like to call him. A tyrant would have confiscated for himself this wealth whose original owners had been killed; and this stroke of declaring a dangerous war on a powerful enemy with whom he formerly wanted to temporize only to restore to the Chinese what was theirs is without doubt much more laudable, more human and loyal than to throw out of his kingdom despoiled of their property and wealth thousands of subjects only for remaining faithful to the God of their Patriarchs and for being the weakest.

[2] These fire and assassination were neither excusable, despite the useless reasons with which Fr. Aduarte tries to justify them. Anacaparan was only threatening them if they did not return the property of the Chinese. Naturally one step leads to another: They would lose their prestige if they returned what they had taken. Castilian honor would have sparmkled more if they had contented themselves with killing the Chinese without touching their property. Moreover, if all they wanted was to return to their ships, why burn the city? Why wake up and disturb the inhabitants?

where they were, but turned about toward their vessels and departed in the best orderly manner possible. A large number of Cambodians gathered together duly armed, and with some elephants, went in pursuit of the Spaniards whom they overtook before they reached the safety of their vessels. The latter defended themselves gallantly and retreated to their vessels without losing a single Spaniard; and the Cambodians returned to their city with a few dead and many wounded.

Once Diego Belloso and Blas Ruiz were safe on board their vessels, Captain Gallinato arrived on his flag-vessel at the Chordemuco River and heard the report given him regarding everything that had transpired between them and the Chinese and Cambodians, as well as of the turn of events, favorable to them, in order to consolidate their successes, especially as once the tyrant Anacaparan was dead, many Cambodians would soon pass to the camp of the Spaniards in defense of the name and authority of Langara, the legitimate king. Although some Cambodians came in search of the fleet, affirming their loyalty to Gallinato, and despite the death of Anacaparan and what the Spaniards had accomplished in Sistor, Gallinato showed incredibility to the representations of this and that group, and refused to commit himself to a particular line of action, whether to continue the enterprise or discontinue the same but rather reproved the Spaniards for what they had done in his absence.[1] He deprived them of all they possessed in the way of booty from the Chinese and Cambodians, and sailed out to sea to return to Manila.[2] Belloso and Blas Ruiz tried to persuade him to at least proceed to Cochin-china where it was reported that the galley which had mutinied when they killed Governor Gomez Perez, had been taken to; also that both the Royal banner and artillery pieces were to be found there, and that they — Belloso and Blas Ruiz, now proposed to proceed by land from there to the Kingdom of Laos, where the king Langara of Cambodia was at the time, and bring him over to his kingdom. To this Captain Gallinato assented. He sailed along the coast until he entered the Bay of Cambodia where to all appearances he was well received by the natives of this land , but he never decided to leave his vessels, from where he sent Gregorio de Vargas to visit the King of Tongkin, the greatest in that land, and to negotiate with him on the matter of the galley, the Royal Standard and the pieces of artillery. While the matter was being considered, he gave leave to Blas Ruiz and Diego Belloso to proceed on land and endeavor to make an expedition to Laos. He was not averse to their request for the reason that he desired to keep them away from him ever busy in order that they would not be enabled to do him a bad turn in Manila on their return, regarding the expedition to Cambodia.

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[1] As Lord Stanley insinuates, it must not be supposed that Gallinato had acted through tmidity because he was a soldier who had served a great deal before and after this expedition and whose military qualities Andrea Furtado de Mendoza took pleasure to extol and recognize. However, our author's words breathed something like a censure of Gallinato's conduct and they leave many things to be guessed that the historian did not want to write down.

[2] If Gallinato considered unjust what was done to the Chinese and Cambodians, why were their properties not returned to them? Probably to keep their prestige or perhaps for being inspired by the same sentiment that animated Philip II when he reprimanded Mr. Gonzalo Ronquillo for having introduced the 2 and 3% tax on merchandise, but nevertheless he did not abolish it.

Diego Belloso and Blas Ruiz went to the King of Sinua,[1] son of the King of Tongkin, requesting the former to help them in making their way to their destination, and the Siamese king furnished them with every need; so that these Spaniards were well treated and attended to up to the City of Alanchan,[2] capital of the King of Loas, where they were well received by its king. They found out that Praunkar Langara, King of Cambodia, his son and eldest daughter had died, and that there only survived his son Praunkar, his foster mother, grandmother and aunts. The Spaniards reported the conditions of affairs in Cambodia, the coming of the Spaniards and the death of the tyrant Anacaparan. This intelligence was confirmed by a Cambodian who also reported that, upon the death of the tyrant, his youngest son named Chupinanu[1] assumed the throne; and that the whole country was divided up into camps; and that there were many who upon seeing the real and legitimate King, would leave Chupinanu and repair to his side and obey him.

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[1] Kanj-hoa (?) On a map of *Hondio*, Sinoa is indicated on a bay situated along the eastern coast of Cambodia, S. E. of Cochin-china, almost at the level of Manila, which makes us suspect that it may be Rue or at least Quin-hon.

[2] Lantchang or Lanxang is the name of an old city north of Cambodia. (Pallegoiz' *Dictionary*, cited by Lord Stanley,)

Several difficulties got in the way of their departure, as follows: At this time, a mandarin named Ocuña de Chu, came from Cambodia to Alanchan[2] with ten praos,[3] well armed and fitted with artillery, sent by order of other mandarins and prominent people of Cambodia to bring in their legitimate king, to Cambodia; so there came aboard, Praunkar, his grandmother, aunt and foster-mother, the wife of Langara, together with Diego Belloso and Blas Ruiz, all of whom made the journey on said vessels and paraos along the river flowing from Laos to Cambodia,[4] where they found further disturbances and uprisings of the provincial people. However, upon the arrival of Praunkar, many went over to his side, particularly two Malay Mohammedans named Ocuña Lacasamana[5] and Cancona, who were in the kingdom with their army of Malays, artillery and elephants. King Praunkar got the best of his enemies wherever the opportunity presented itself, and Chupinanu and his brothers and other rebels got killed in some battles, and the king became the lord of practically all the provinces of his Kingdom. He appointed Diego Belloso and Blas Ruiz his leaders in war-affairs and they took charge of all these matters until Praunkar was enabled to rule his country. And when the war was practically over, the king appointed Belloso and Blas Ruiz grand-Governors[1] of his kingdom and gave them two provinces together with other sinecures, but not as many as they expected and as he had promised when they were still in Laos. The ones to blame for their insufficient reward were the king's foster-mother, grandmother and aunt who were his guardians owing to his minority and heavy liquor-drinking habit, which was even greater than his father Langara's, — over which women, the Malay Moor Ocuña Lacasamana, had great influence. He was envious of the courage of the Spaniards and often thwarted them in their undertakings and even tried to ruin them; so that they had frequent clashes with him. It should be taken into account that this Moor had illicit relations with the wife of Langara, the foster-mother of King Praunkar.

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[1] To rule over a country it is not enough to be the son of a king. One must be worthy of it, like his predecessors. Undoubtedly, from the modern point of view, Anacaparan was more worthy of the crown than the pusillanimous Phra Unkar Langara, who at the approach of the enemy, abandoned his subjects, fleeing with his family, whereas with only the forces of his kingdom he could have fought with it and drive it away as Anacaparan did, delivering his country from slavery. Phra Unkar had lost his kingdom and with his flight had renounced it; he deserved the curses of his forsaken subjects. The Spaniards should have let Cambodia govern herself in peace under the strong hand of Anacaparan. Neither would have occurred so many evils nor would Spanish prestige be compromised, as it was later, only to place on the throne a weak king, son of an unworthy and pusillanimous monarch who served as an instrument of his ambitions.

[2] There is certain confusion here in the order, easy, however, to see and correct. We believe that it ought to say: "Some difficulties for the departure having been overcome, for having gone at this time from Cambodia to Lanchan in Laos a mandarin called Ocuña de Chu with ten paraos, *etc. etc.*"

[3] *Paraw*, a vessel still used today in the Philippines.

[4] The river Mekong. (p. 49)

[5] Laksamana means in Malay "general" or admiral" (Stanley). In the history of the Philippines there was also a Pampango Indio chief with this surname, holding the post of Master of Camp.

The fleet of Captain Gallinato remained in Cochin-china endeavoring to demand from the King of Tongkin the Spanish Royal Standard and artillery of the galley as has already been stated, said vessel having been lost on the coast of this country, while the rest was in the possession of this King. The latter not only failed to give these to him, but tried to divert Gallinato's attention with many excuses, but at the same time was endeavoring to take his vessels and all therein contained, away from him. Upon his being secretly apprized by a leading Cochin-Chinese lady who came to see him in his fleet, Captain Gallinato took still greater precautions of security, and did not allow anyone to go ashore but was unable to enforce this rule on Father Alonso Jimenez, one of the Dominican friars whom he had brought along, and who took a principal part in the expedition. Upon his going ashore he was seized and detained there.[2] Believing the fleet to be poorly secured, the Cochin-Chinese sent against it certain vessels containing burning material[1] and following behind them were a few galleys and other vessels to be set afire. On land, many people armed with arquebusques, annoyed the fleet which was lying nearby, upon which the Spanish vessels maneuvered to avoid the fire by moving further away from the shore and by pointing their own artillery, muskets, and arquebusques at the enemy and firing them effectively, they sank some of them. Without waiting any further, and leaving ashore Father Alonso and two secular companions,[2] he had the fleet set sail from the Cochin-China Bay, en route to the Philippine Islands.

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[1] "Chow Phya" is a title in Siam and Cambodia.

[2] Fr. Aduarte gave another account of what happened as we shall see further.

And while these events were transpiring in Cambodia and Cochin-China, there arrived from Spain some forces sent by His Majesty to fulfill an obligation assumed by Captain Esteban de Figueroa to Governor Gomez Perez Dasmariñas with which he would undertake the pacification of the Island of Mindanao, and the settlement thereof, granting him the Government of the same for twenty years,* together with other rewards. The undertaking was accomplished after certain obstacles which had arisen, had been overcome. Esteban Rodriguez prepared the men, vessels and other necessaries for the undertaking, and with a few galleys, galliots, frigates, viceroy type vessels, *lapis*[3] and other small craft with two hundred and fourteen Spaniards[4] from the Island of Mindanao on February of the same year ninety-six, taking with him as his master of the Camp, Captain Juan de la Nara, with some priests of the Society of Jesus, to spread the doctrine and many natives to serve in the Camp and Fleet.

They arrived in good weather at the River of Mindanao *where the people of the* first settlements called the Tancapans[5] and the Lumaguans who were the enemies of the Buhahayens,[1] received them in peace and friendship, and joined the fleet numbering about six thousand strong.[2] Without losing any time, they sailed up-stream for about eight leagues as far as Buhahayen, the principal settlement in the Island whose principal Chief[3] had fortified several parts thereof. Upon arriving at the settlement, the fleet anchored and landed a good portion of its men with their arms, on certain grass and reed-fields along the banks of the river, and before reaching the houses and the fort, they found a few Buhahayens who came to meet them with their long face the enemy. From the flag-vessel, Governor Esteban Rodriguez de Figueroa watched the proceedings, and being unable to tolerate the scant concert of his men, decided to take personal part in the operations, and with three or four companions, he himself landed, his valet carrying his steel helmet in order to move *campilans*, carazas[4] and other weapons. They attacked from different sides the Spaniards, who could not move properly and in military order in view of the muddy ground and the thick and tall reeds, although the Master of the Camp and the captains endeavored to rally their men in an orderly manner and to encourage them to more freely — he began to cross the reed field toward the thickest of the fight. An enemy native came forth to attack him unseen,[1] and weilding his *campilan* he hacked the Governor on the head and felled him to the ground, badly wounded. His companions struck the Mindanao warrior to pieces and carried back the Governor to the galley. Within a short time the Master of the Camp Juan de la Xara withdrew with his men to the vessels, leaving on the field a few dead Spaniards. The Governor never recovered his senses because his wound was deep, and he died a few days later. In view of this loss and unfortunate happening, the fleet departed from the locality and sailed down-stream to Tampacan where it arrived among friends and their settlements.

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[1] Perhaps champans loaded with hay or other burning material like wild-fire, naptha, *etc.*

[2] They violated the expressed mandate of Gallinato.

[3] We don't know the meaning of this word; perhaps it is a transformation of the Tagalog word *lampitaw*, a small vessel that is still used in Manila Bay.

[4] In order to do this at one's own expense, one must have large funds. It is not surprising for he was an *encomendero* of the Bisayas.

[5] Further on he calls it Tampacan.

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[1] Buhayén.

[2] That is, 214 Spaniards and more than 5,700 Filipinos.

[3] This chief was called Rajamura, according to Argensola, (*Conquista de las Molucas*, book 6.)

[4] *Kalasag*, shield. The general of these Buhayanes, according to Argensola, was the famous Silonga about whom Fr. Chirino tells the following anecdote which happened on the Mindanao River:

> The Spaniards having established their settlements and forts on the banks of that river and having certain vessels on the river, when a friendly chief made an offer of marriage to the daughter or sister of another chief farther up the river, the general of the camp, wishing to do him honor for the sake of friendship, sent two galliots up the river to fetch his wife. On the way was the Muslim enemy called Silongan who knew that our men had passed by and when they would return. Though there was in fact open war between them, he did not try to annoy them when they passed by with the bride. Rather he came out to the bank of the river in solemn gait with head uncovered, dressed and with a fan in his hand, fanning himself to view the galliots and their passengers. Upon recognizing him, our soldiers with the haughtiness of youth and the hatred of enemies lighted the match cords and fired some arquebuses whose bullets (aimed at the feet for gallantry), though they fell nearby, did not hit him nor caused any changed in him as if what occurred had been a joke. (page 81)

Later he distinguished himself in numerous piratical invasions in the Bisayas and adjacent islands.

The Master of the Camp Juan de la Xara, caused himself to be elected Chief of the Fleet as successor in the leadership of the expedition. He built a stockade with posts and palm-tree trunks near Tampacan with a settlement of Spaniards, giving it the name of Murcia; and made the necessary dispositions which he saw fit to make with a view to perpetuating himself in the command, and to appropriate the domain to himself without the knowledge or consent of the Governor in Manila, without whose intervention and assistance he could not proceed with the undertaking.

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[1] Argensola (*loc, cit.*) has preserved for us the name of this Indio: He was called Ubal. Two days before he had given a banquet killing a cow (?) of his own and promising to take away the life ot Esteban Rodríguez de Figueroa, a promise that he fulfilled. Fr. Colin calls this Indio a traitor, we don't know why. The Buhayanes were in their own land, they had not offended or declared war on the Spaniards; they had to defend their homes against a very powerful invader, with superior force, many of whom because of their armor, were invulnerable for the rough Indios who were exposed to the bullets of their arquebuses. Were this criterion followed, the heroic Spanish peasantry of the war of independence would be a much more treacherous people: The flickness of Godoy, the discords of the royal family, having almost equal arms and strength, the war without quarter with assassinations and poisoning were circumstances that could lessen the glitter of that cause, so tenaciously and valiantly defended. Colin thus expressed himself whether for his sorrow over the death of Figueroa, who was a supporter of the Jesuits and their most determined benefactor, or for being carried away by passion, calling all his enemies traitors. It was not the fault of Ubal that he was not seen, as Morga says. They were in full combat; Figueroa came ready to fight and to kill, well armed and accompanied. Would Fr. Colin want the Indio to call his attention first, if he was inattentive, to allow himself to be killed stupidly?

CHAPTER SIX

Of the Governorship of Don Francisco Tello, and of the second organization of the *Audiencia de Manila;* and sundry events happening during the time of his incumbency.

The Governor Don Luis Dasmariñas was awaiting news of Captain Xuarez Gallinato and of Governor Esteban Rodriguez de Figueroa regarding the expedition which each of them had undertaken in the beginning of the year Ninety Six, to Cambodia and Mindanao, respectively; when, in the month of June there arrived in Manila the intelligence that there were two vessels in mid-channel of the Espíritu Santo Straits, and that a newly appointed Governor had arrived from Spain, Don Francisco Tello de Guzmán, knight of Santiago (St. James), a native of Seville, treasurer of the commercial firm of the Indies; who entered the City of Manila in the first days of July and was welcomed by the local Government. It was also learned at the same time that the archbishop-elect of Manila, Fr. Ignacio de Santibañez of the Order of St. Francis, a native of Santibañez, province of Burgos, had remained in New Spain, in view of the demise in Madrid of Bishop Fr. Domingo de Salazar, and that Fr. Miguel de Venavides, a native of Carrión, a priest of the Order of St. Dominic who had gone to Spain as a companion of Bishop Fr. Domingo de Salazar, had been elected bishop of the City of Segovia, province of Cagayán, Likewise it was said that there also remained in México the bishop-elect of the City of the Most Holy Name of Jesus (Cebu), Fr. Pedro de Agurto, of the Order of St. Augustine, native of México; that these two bishops, together with another one in the City of Cáceres, Camarines Province, who had not yet been elected — had been newly added to the Philippines, all of whom had acknowledged to be under the Archbishop of Manila, at the instance of Bishop Fr. Domingo. Likewise, it had been provided for the re-establishment in Manila of the *Audiencia* which had been therein abolished; together with other dispositions that the Governor had witnessed at the Court of the Metropolis.

A short time after the assumption of office of Don Francisco Tello in the Governorship, news were received of the death of Don Esteban Rodriguez de Figueroa in Mindanao, upon the arrival of Brother Gaspar Gomez of the Society of Jesus who brought his body to be buried in the College of Manila, the patronage of which he had enjoyed. Don Juan de la Xara wrote as to how he conducted the local administration, how he had filled Tampacan with settlers, and that he planned to continue the pacification and conquest of the Island as he thought best. He asked for aid in the form of settlers and other things to be sent to him. However, it had been feared that he was planning to misuse his authority without being subject nor dependent on or subservient to the Governor of the Philippines, thus depriving the heirs of Don Esteban Rodriguez of what was due to them, and that in order to assure himself better on this matter, he used to send to the *Villa de Arevalo* in Otón, his trusted men, where Don Esteban Rodriguez had left his wife Doña Ana de Osseguera and two small daughters, his house and estates; so that they would persuade her to marry him (Juan de la Xara). It being apparent that this determination of his was detrimental to many matters, it was determined to remedy the situation; and in order not to make a scandal out of the Mindanao incident, the matter was left undisturbed until such time as a course could be found to be followed. Thus it happened that Juan de Xara having left the camp and settlement in Mindanao and had come to Otón for a short visit in order to personally press on her his suit and marriage, — to which the widow of Esteban Rodriguez had never agreed — Governor Don Francisco Tello sent some one to seize him and bring him over to Manila, where he died while attending to his case.

After the imprisonment of Juan de Xara, Don Francisco Tello sent Captain Toribio de Miranda to Mindanao with orders for him to assume command of the Camp, and to administer all matters until such time as some one be sent to continue regularly the enterprise. On his arrival in Mindanao, the residents of the Camp considered that the plans of Juan de la Xara had been abolished, and that he remained in prison and would perhaps never return, They recognized Don Toribio de Miranda and obeyed the orders which he had brought with him.

In Manila, the Governor made all efforts to promote the continuation of the war, inasmuch as the Island of Mindanao was so close to the other pacified provinces, and there being within said Island a few peaceful provinces and subject to *encomienda* or grant and administered by Spaniards such as the settlements along the Butuan River, Dapitan and Caragan, it was convenient to pacify the entire region and reduce the same to obedience to His Majesty. The Royal Treasury was exhausted, with no funds to be expended for purposes for which Esteban Rodriguez had, by a previously executed contract, been obligated to carry out at his own expense until the end thereof, in accordance with the terms of the corresponding undertaking. The guardian of his children and Administrator of his estate for his heirs laid the matter before the Courts and asked that he be exempted from the obligation in view of the demise of Esteban Rodriguez; and in order not to lose time considering that what had been commenced had to be finished to the end, one way or the other, — the Governor decided to prosecute the same by sending as much as was necessary from the Royal Exchequer, on account of the estate or of the heirs of Esteban Rodriguez, if this were lawful. Then it was deliberated to choose the person to go to Mindanao; and Juan Ronquillo, commander of the galley, was elevated and thus given the proper contingent of men and other supplies which seemed to be needed. All of this was taken by him to Mindanao, and he took over the command of the Camp and Fleet of the Spaniards which he found in Tampacan; and he confirmed the peaceful and friendly intentions and relations between the principal natives and his Spaniards in Tampacan and Lumaguan. He reformed and established better order in the settlement and fort of the Spaniards. He made the rounds of his lands and forts on which he spent several days without achieving much improvement, because the enemies were good and numerous soldiers, having several arquebuses[1] and small artillery, emplaced on very firm ground, with other minor fortifications inland. He and his men would go from one point to another as they pleased, without receiving any injury, thus tiring out his Spaniards who were not used to low and marshy terrain, having few provisions, as these were not abundant on the place owing to the hostilities, the Camp being so full of people including Spaniards and natives, rowers in their service. It was no easy matter to go from one place to another in all sorts of weather conditions in order to secure the necessary provisions.[2]

Don Juan Ronquillo having considered that the war was lagging on for a considerable time, and that that very scant benefit was derived from it; on the contrary, upon a rapid survey of the situation, the Camp was found to suffer from it. He sent out prompt dispatches to Governor Francisco Tello apprizing him of matters as they actually stood and recommended that the Camp of the Mindanao River be removed in order that it may not perish, and that a Penal Camp be established on the same Island, in the Port of Caldera, fortifying the same in order not abandon the enterprise entirely, so that the friendly Tampacans and Lumaguans be maintained in enmity to the Buhahayens;[3] also that the rest of the Camp personnel be taken to Manila, upon the proper authority therefor being given, and that he (Ronquillo) be ordered accordingly as soon as possible. Upon receiving the report, Governor Don Francisco Tello decided to inform Don Juan Ronquillo that inasmuch as the situation was thus as reported, and in view that he was unable to maintain the Camp there or continue the war advantageously, he ordered Ronquillo to withdraw with his entire camp from the area of the Mindanao River, after making a strong effort to punish the Buhahayens, and afterwards to burn the fort and settlement of the Spaniards, and then proceed to Caldera, fortify it and build a convenient Penal Camp defended with artillery, vessels and supplies for its maintenance and service. He was to bring to Manila the rest of the men, and advise their friends the Tampacans that the Spaniards will soon return to the River with greater determination, and a larger number of men and soldiers.[1]

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[1] Perhaps the arquebuses of the soldiers who died in the fight with Figueroa because, though culverins and other pieces of artillery were used in the islands, arquebuses were however unknown.

[2] These considerations can still be applied to the present campaigns in Mindanao.

[3] Because, with the continuance of the enmity, it was easier to subdue them afterward than when they are united, as it happened later, making great damage to the disarmed islands subject to the crown of Castille. For this reason we said that that the word "pacify" that the author uses so often, seems to be synonymous with "make war" or "sow animosities".

Silonga and other principal Buhahayens who did not neglect their own security because aside from other matters, they had sent a chieftain to Terrenate asking for help against the Spaniards who had brought war to their homes;[2] whereupon the King of Terrenate sent to Mindanao a fleet of many *caracoas* or rowing-barges and other vessels commanded by cachiles[3] with selected soldiers numbering over one thousand warriors, and a number of light artillery pieces with which to compel the Spaniards to break their camp and go away, if they could do nothing better than this. The news having reached the Buhahayens that a fleet was coming over to defend and aid them, they became alerted and got ready and were taking great care and making repairs and improvements on their principal fort, and increasing its garrison from the minor forts in the Buquil River, also other stations, outlets and branches of the same river, thus strengthening greatly the main stockade, likewise making ready the armed galley and other minor vessels to use them promptly in attacking the forthcoming enemies. The latter entered gallantly with all their vessels and men up to the very fort of the Spaniards, attacking these for the purpose and with the intention of charging them with energy and courage. The Spaniards inside resisted with courage, and those outside who were on the galley in the river, assisted them in such a way that each in his own side was firing at the other with his artillery and arquebuses, and occasionally clashing with each other with their swords and *kampilans* (two-handed swords) they caused great havok on the Terrenateans and Buhahayens who assisted them, wounding and killing a great number of them and taking almost all of their sailing barges and other vessels which had been brought upstream with them. Very few were able to escape, and the Spaniards overtook and burned them, taking many captives, much spoil and enemy weapons. More than this, they turned as quickly as they could, to the settlements and forts of the Buhahayens causing considerable damage to them to the extent that these enemies were so pressed and helpless that they came seeking parley and treaty with Don Juan Ronquillo. The result was that they yielded their obedience to the Spaniards, established peace and friendship with the Tampacans, their old enemies; and in order to seal the peace between them they managed the marriage of the principal chieftain and lord of the Buhahayens, to the daughter of a Tampacan chieftain named Dogonlibor.[1] So that hostilities seemed to have ended, and the Spaniards could go back and forth in these lands with scarcely any security measures taken in this respect. The Buhahayens promised to pull down all their forts, this being one of the terms of the peace treaty. After this the Spaniards returned to their forts and settlements of the Tampacans, and Don Juan Ronquillo reported in a message to Don Francisco Tello, all the events which had transpired in view of which he now requested new orders as to what course he was to take, and stated that in the meantime he would receive an answer to his first report, considering that the conditions had improved so much and that the final decision had to be necessarily different.

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[1] So that trusting in this coming aid, they would continue waging war against one another.

[2] In order to pacify them.

[3] Chiefs. *Ketchil*, a Malay word which means "small" "young", hence a young man of distinction, a son or brother of the princes of Moluccas. In Amboyna, that is the title of the heir apparent. (Marsden's *Dictionary*, cited by Stanley.)

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[1] Lord Stanley recalls at this point a princess called Daunlibor (wide leaf) mentioned in Malayan annals. We believe that Dogon-Libor has no relation with that name, because *Dogo* (n) could have a different meaning from that of *Daun* (Tagalog *Dahun*, leaf); for example, that of blood or lineage. Argensola, however, in the work already mentioned, speaks of a Dingilibot, uncle of Monao, true lord of Tampakan. Probably he is the same one our author talks about.

Governor Don Francisco Tello had answered the first message of Don Juan Ronquillo in the tenor which has already been stated above. When he received the second message with the good news regarding the events occuring in Mindanao, inasmuch as there was concern over the personnel of the Camp who were always expressing their desire to return to Manila, far from the activities of war, — and who would do exactly that, upon receiving the answer to the first report and executing the same and leaving the place which was already in a satisfactory condition; and considering that to abandon the river now would not be so auspicious, — the Governor sent a second order through various channels, to the effect that they should disregard the first order, and stay in Mindanao and await further developments, and he would send them shortly whatever was necessary to promote the previous project.

This precautionary measure came late, as upon the arrival of the first order, it was put into execution forthwith. They had broken camp and departed from the area. They had told the Buhahayens who had been former enemies, that the reason for this move was that the Governor in Manila was sending for them. To their friends the Tampacans they had told that they would leave a garrison in Caldera, and that their friends would be aided from Manila. These friends had become sad and desolate, whereas the Buhahayens had become glad of the change. After doing this they had burned down their own fort and settlement and as soon as they were able to, they had embarked with the entire Camp personnel and supplies, left the river area and proceeded to Caldera twenty-four leagues down stream on the way to Manila, on the shores of which port they had built a fort wherein they had left a garrison of one hundred Spaniards, together with some artillery pieces and provisions and with some sailing-craft for the garrison to use.

At this point, the second order of the Governor came for Juan Ronquillo, to which he answered that he was already at the port of Caldera and that he could no longer return to the Mindanao River post. Without any delay, he sailed with his fleet to Manila by way of the province of Otón and Panay. Upon learning of his arrival and before Ronquillo could enter the City of Manila, the Governor had him seized on the way to said City, and prosecuted him for having removed his Camp and men from the Mindanao River, when he could have awaited the second order — and in view of the circumstances he could have easily done it. After Juan Ronquillo had exhibited a private letter sent to him by the Governor, apart from the first order, to the effect that he could by all means come over to Manila with his men for the reason that he needed him for other purposes in the interest of the Islands, on which letter Ronquillo alleged to have justified his conduct in no longer awaiting the second order — he was exonerated and set free.

Captain and sergeant-major Gallinato sailed on the flag-vessel of his fleet from Cochin-China to Manila where he reported to Don Francisco Tello whom he found to be the Governor — all that had transpired to him on his expedition; and inasmuch as Blas Ruiz and Diego Belloso had journeyed from Cochin-China to Laos by land in search of King Langara of Cambodia. Gallinato excused himself regarding his absence from Cambodia, a matter which had become the subject of much gossip, while some of his companions who followed him had stated that it was a pity that he had lost a chance for not making an appearance in Cambodia under such circumstances, because had he done so, the Spaniards would have obtained all the advantages they had expected to secure from said Kingdom.

The other vessel to which the remainder of the main fleet in reserve, had been reduced, and of which he had made Lieutenant Luis Ortiz the commander, was unable to proceed with the voyage. After suffering stormy weather they arrived in Malacca where a few Spaniards remained, from which point, after a few months he was enabled to sail back to Manila with the rest of his men.

At this time and in the beginning of the administration of Don Francisco Tello, two principal natives of the Province of Cagayan were under detention in Manila, the older being named Magalat, for the reason that their relatives and other followers embracing his opinion and creed, had several times induced the people of the settlements of said province to rise up; and it took no small effort to pacify them, as several Spaniards had been daily killed and much injury had been caused to the peaceful natives who tilled the lands. The captain and head of these rebels was Magalat; and as long as he and his brother and other natives remained under detention in Manila, that province enjoyed better security.

Captain priests of the Order of St. Dominic who had gone to the City of Segovia, the capital of the province where they taught the doctrine, having been impelled by compassion, persuaded the Governor to deliver Magalat and his brother to them for the purpose of returning them to their province.[1] They were so insistent in their request that the Governor granted their petition. Having been taken back to Cagayan, the agitators went up along the Labo River and again incited the people of the land to rise up and make trouble among the people, with the aid of other principal men of Tubigarao,[2] and the other communities, so that it became unsafe to travel there or even set foot outside the City, the same Magalat being the head of the insurgents, who even dealt cruel death and caused considerable injury to the natives who refused to rise up against the Spaniards. Conditions became such that it was necessary for the Governor to send from Manila the Master of the Camp, Pedro de Chavez, with his men-at-arms in order to expressly remedy the evil, and although with several difficulties to surmount, he was fortunate enough to seize several chiefs of the rebels to whom he meted out justice and even caused Magalat to be killed by his own native followers who offered to do it for a price which was given to them.[1] otherwise it seemed impossible to get him. If Magalat had not failed, the war would have failed to end before the lapse of many years but after this the province became quiet and peace and order were restored.

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[1] To win the sympathy of the people of Kagayan and then baptize them and subdue them.

[2] Tuguegaraw.

"On April of the year of Our Lord Fifteen Hundred Ninety-five, the *Adelantado* or Admiral Don Alvaro de Mendaña de Neira sailed from Callao of Lima, Perú, toward the towns of the Solomon Islands which he had discovered many years[2] before in the South Seas, having named the principal Island thereof, the Isle of Saint Cristopher.[3] He took with him four vessels including two large Captain and Admiral flag-vessels, one frigate and one galliot, together with four hundred men in all, his wife Doña Isabel Barreto and three brothers-in-law. On his way he discovered other islands on which he did not land having become confused with the island which he discovered. His admiral flag-vessel got lost and failed to appear, and he landed with the rest of his vessels on an island inhabited by dark people near New Guinea which he named Santa Cruz[4] and settled the same to the great displeasure of his personnel.

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[1] The practice now followed by the English: To make use of money and the traitors to liquidate a terrible enemy. This method has been used since remote antiquity in Asia as well as in Europe.

[2] 1568.

[3] This island still continues independent in spite of the fact that some of its group and may of the adjacent ones have passed on to Germany, France, and England, and reasons for annexing it were not lacking. It has in its forests magnificent trees (scandal, ebony, and guaiacum), the inhabitants, few, in a state of savagery and non-Christian, have killed several times the crew of ships to avenge outrages inflicted upon them by the buyers of sandal wood. Wallace believes that this is due to the bad reputation that its inhabitants enjoy and above all their hostility toward the foreigner, and to cannibalism. This island of San Cristobal is situated at 10°8' Lat. S and 162 Long. E. Mer. Greenwich.

[4] Situated 11° Lat. S. 165 57' Long E. Greenwich.

The Admiral, two brothers-in-law and many of his men died there. Owing to disease and dire necessity, Doña Isabel Barreto abandoned the island by shipping the remaining men on the Captain's flag-vessel, the frigate and galliot and sailed toward the Philippine Islands. On the way the frigate and the galliot disappeared, following another course. The captain's flag-vessel went towards Manila in great distress and difficulty. Doña Isabel Barreto having married Don Fernando de Castro, they proceeded later from Manila to New Spain on the vessel "San Geronimo" in the year Fifteen Hundred and Ninety-six. The events of this voyage have been narrated so briefly for the reason that it is more proper to quote the narrative which was prepared and signed by the senior pilot of the expedition, Don Pedro Fernandez de Quiroz, as follows:

"ACCOUNT OF THE VOYAGE OF ADMIRAL ALVARO DE MENDANA DE NEIRA, IN DISCOVERING THE SOLOMON ISLANDS:[1]

"On Friday the ninth day of April in the year of Our Lord, Fifteen Hundred Ninety-five, Admiral Alvaro de Mendaña set the Fleet to sail in order to proceed to pacify and settle the Western Islands of the South Seas starting from the Port of Callao in Lima, Perú, which lies twelve and a half degrees meridian latitude, turning around the valleys of Sancta, Trujillo and Saña, obtaining men and provisions; stopped at Paita where they loaded water and enlisted approximately four hundred persons, and took four vessels consisting of two large and two small ones, They departed from said port lying five degrees latitude, turned to the West-south-east in search of islands to be discovered, carrying on board Don Pedro Merino Manrique as Master of the Camp his brother-in-law Lope de la Vega as Admiral, and Pedro Fernandez de Quiroz as senior pilot. He sailed in the same direction up to a latitude of nine and a half degrees; thence they turned to the West fourth degree Southeast to fourteen degrees latitude. From thence he changed his course to the West, one fourth degree North-west; and as we found ourselves in the direction in ten long degrees latitude, on Friday twenty-first of the month of July,

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[1] The same author has already called attention that these islands had been previously discovered.

we sighted an island which was named by the General, the Magdalene Island;[1] *and from one of its ports about seventy canoes came out, three or more men on each, while some natives came swimming some riding on pieces of timber, over four hundred natives in all, white colored and with very gentle dispositions, large sized, strong and muscle-bound and also (tambien)*[2] *well-shaped and handsome, who were better-looking than ourselves,*[3] *having beautiful teeth, eyes*[4] *and mouths hands and feet, beautiful loose hair, and many of them being quite blond. Among them were very handsome youths all naked without anything on at all; all their bodies, legs and arms, hand and the faces of a few of them were tattooed like the Visayans. For people who were barbarous, naked and so poorly endowed with intelligence, they had very much to be thankful for to God who created them.*[5] *And it was with insistence that they called and invited us to go to their port. They were called up from our Captain's vessel, and about forty of them came up on board, and beside them we looked less conspicuous. One among them came over and turned out to be taller that any of our tallest men in the entire fleet, by one hand (palm) although we had men higher than the average person. The General gave some of them shirts and other wearing-apparel which they received with great joy and they danced around while they tried them on and calling the others to see them. The captain got angry in view of their excesses because they were great thieves. He ordered a small gun to be fired to make them afraid, upon hearing which report, they jumped to the sea and swam to shore and armed themselves. From a large canoe which they had brought they stoned the ship and threatened to use their lances, than which they had no other weapons. From the galley, our men fired arquebuses at them and killed five or six natives*[6] *and then stopped shooting. As our fleet was sailing, we discovered*

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[1] "Fatuhiwa" the natives call it. It is situated at 10° 40' Lat, S. and 138°15' Long. O. Greenwich. It belongs to the group of the Marquesas Islands under the French flag.

[2] *Tan bien.* (so well.)

[3] According to Cook, cited by Wallace, these inhabitants would excel all other races in the harmony of the proportion and regularly of their features. The stature of the men is 175 to 183 centimeters.

[4] Wallace says, however, that in denture and eyes they were inferior to the other inhabitants of Polynesia.

[5] Dr. William Joest has in his book *Tutowiren Narnbenzeichnen und Korperbemahlen* some reproductions of the tattoos of the inhabitants of Polynesia.

[6] Death was always the first sign of European civilization upon being introduced into the Pacific and God will that it may not be its last, because, judging by the statistics, the islands of the Pacific being civilized are depopulating terribly. The first exploit of Magellan himself upon arriving at the Marianas, was to burn more than forty houses, many vessels, and

three other islands. One island is about six leagues long. We sailed around the southern part which is high and steep down to the sea, mountainous and uneven where the natives inhabit. There seemed to be many inhabitants there as we saw them on the top of the mountains as well as on the beaches, thus we went ahead to find the other three islands, the first of which we named Saint Peter's,[1] *about ten leagues distant from the Magdalene Island, and it directed us to the North fourth degree Northwest. It will have (terná)*[2] *an area of about three leagues. It is a beautiful island with considerable vegetation and trees and fine fields. We did not learn if it was populated or not as we did not reach it. About five leagues southeast of this lies another one which the General named Dominican Island.*[3] *It also has a beautiful appearance and looked as if well-populated with a length of about fifteen leagues, and to the South of this about a little over one league is another island containing about eight leagues, which was named Saint Christine*[4] *Island; and our fleet sailed on the channel between both islands*[5] *and all we saw was a clean island. We found a good port*[6] *on the Western part of Saint Christine Island in which our fleet stopped. The appearance of the natives did not seem to me similar to the first ones we saw, but very pretty women were seen. I myself did not see them. but some persons attest that in their opinion, there were women as beautiful as those in Lima, the latter being however whiter and not so tall as these ones and quite beautiful. We saw in the port the following edible things: pigs, chickens, sugar-cane, good bananas, coconuts and a fruit which grows on large trees, as large as the largest pineapples and it makes good eating. A considerable number of this fruit was eaten raw, roasted or boiled, and when eaten ripe, it tastes good. It is such a good fruit that I know of no other better one and there is hardly any part of it to be discarded except a thin rim.*[7] *There is another fruit tasting like chestnuts but much larger than six chestnuts put together. A considerable number of them were eaten both roasted and boiled,*

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seven inhabitants for having robbed a boat; Those hapless savages saw nothing bad in robbing, which they did so naturally, just as among the civilized fishing, hunting, and to subjugate weak or ill-armed people.

[1] Probably Motane.

[2] Tendrá. (Will have.)

[3] Hiwaoa.

[4] Tahuata or Tanata.

[5] Strait of Bordelais.

[6] Vaitahu (Mother of God)?

[7] It might be the breadfruit tree (*artocarpus incisa*) which is also found in the Philippines, known by the name of *rimas;* in Spanish it is called *rima.* It is believed that it is kown in Polynesia by this name.

also some nuts having a hard shell. These are very oily and quite a number of them were consumed; and some suspected that they caused them diarrhea. We likewise saw some Castilian squashes growing there. There is a beautiful spring near the shore, giving excellent water at a height of two men from the ground, gushing out of a rock about four or five fingers in diameter, and beside it, is a stream near which the vessels were cleaned and supplied with water. The natives retired to the mountains and ridges where they entrenched themselves and tried to injure us with stones and projectiles, but never succeeded in harming us because the Master of the Camp restrained them with guard patrols. When the natives of this island had seen among us a black man, they made signs and pointed to the Southern direction from the place and saying that there were people like them[1] *where they used to go to fight them; that these blacks had bows and arrows; and they used to go on large canoes which these people possess. There being insufficient ways of understanding each other, and scant curiosity to learn more about the matter, they let it go at that. However, I believe that those natives are not so adventurous at sea, and that they must have gone inland to the mountains. The nature of their boats and the way they use them, do not indicate that they came from very far away.*[2]

"This port lies on nine and one-half degrees latitude[3] *and the Admiral caused a three-crosses flag to be raised therein; and on Saturday, August five, he ordered us to weigh anchor and set sail toward the West one fourth degree Southwest, and we sailed with East and East-western winds for about four hundred leagues. On Sunday August the twentieth, we sighted four low islands, sandy shores full of palm-trees and others, and on the South-east up to the North, there was a large sand-bank. They must have an area of about four by twelve leagues, and we knew not if they were inhabited, because we did not reach them. This seems to be a year of making circles, and I say it with anger! They lie ten and three fourth degree and were named St.*

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[1] This would prove that at that time the remainder of the black race still lived in the group of Tuamotu or Paumotu, that now no longer exists, according to travelers, for it is inhabited by the Maori race.

[2] As it shows, Quirós was not certain, for Tahuata is an island widely separated from the groups of the south and it is now believed (Marsden, Wallace) that the Polynesians who inhabited those islands had come from Samoa where they arrived in very remote times from the far west, because in their traditions the natives say that all of them had come from Savaii. However, some consider this Hawaii, an sland iof the Sandwich group.

[3] 9°56'30"

Barnard Islands for having been discovered on that Saint's day.[1] *From here we began to meet South-east winds which never failed us any more, for being apparently the prevailing ones which took us sailing along without giving above eleven degrees nor below ten degrees; up to Tuesday the twenty-ninth of August when we discovered a round island having an approximate length of one league, entirely surrounded by a coral-reef, and we tried to land there but could not determine where we could do it, in order to load water and firewood for the Admiral's flag-vessel as these were already becoming scarce. It was named Solitary Island*[2] *and it lies at ten and two thirds degrees distant from Lima, about fifteen hundred and thirty-five leagues. Thence we sailed in the above-mentioned order owing to the variety of judgments expressed, some saying that we were sailing to God-knows-where and things like that, which did hurt one's feelings. And so God was served, when on the eve of Our Lady in September at midnight, we sighted an island*[3] *having a size of ninety to one hundred leagues lying almost East-West and West-north-east. It must have been about eighteen hundred leagues ridge, and if this were not cleared by the natives to cultivate it, one could not even see a foot of soil. So a landing thereon was made on this northern part thereof, at ten degrees north latitude. About seven leagues from the port lies a volcano on a well-built ridge which was issuing fire from its highest point and other parts thereof. It is a high peak of about three leagues' size standing about steeply down to the sea and being all bare, so that one could not land thereon; and it thundered lustily very often from inside. To the northeast of this volcano lie some small islands which are inhabited,*[4] *full of reefs and sand-bars,*[5] *— strewn over seven or eight leagues, the reefs or sand-bars extending to the Northeast. The person who went to examine them reported that they are numerous. There were small islands around the large one. When we landed on them we found that all of the islands were inhabited, and from the largest one we sighted another not so large an island*[6] *lying to the Southeast and this must be the connecting ridge of them. Entering the port of the large island which was named Santa Cruz or Holy Cross, the Admiral ordered his wife's brother, Captain Don Lorenzo on the*

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[1] Probably the Pukapuka group, Union Islands.

[2] Perhaps Sophia which agrees with the distance it is placed from lima.

[3] Nitendi.

[4] Taumako Islands?

[5] Matema?

[6] Vanikoro?

frigate to go and search for the Admiral's vessel which was lost on the night that we sighted the island, regarding which I have no valid suspiscions; which search was done this and two other times, and failed to produce any good result except the finding of these reefs or sandbars already mentioned. On the bay and port we found the existence of the following provisions: pigs, chickens, bananas, sugar-cane, two or three kinds of tubers, like sweet-potatoes which they eat boiled or roasted and make biscuits out of, betel leaves,[1] two kinds of good nuts, two kinds of pine-nuts, wild pigeons, turtle-doves, ducks, white and dark herons, swallows, several kinds of Amaranth, Castile squashes, the fruits mentioned regarding the previous islands, chestnuts and other nuts and sweet-smelling sweet-basil. There are red flowers in the gardens of this port, also two other kinds of flowers likewise colored. There is another fruit growing on a large tree, resembling an apple, tasting and smelling good. There is a considerable amount of ginger that grows wild without being raised. There is also a considerable amount of the chiquilite[2] plant out of which blue-dye is made. There are also century-plants. There are many sagia[3] likewise coconuts. There were also seen marble-stone, mother-of-pearl, large sea-shells similar to those sent here from China. There is a large fountain and five or six small rivers. The settlement grew out of the area around the fountain. In this present incident, the natives tried to defend themselves but seeing that the arquebuses have a long range and that they were causing injury, they ceased to fight and yielded what they had. In the matter of foraging, there were many cases where the native indios were given very poor treatment by our men, as they killed our best friend among the natives who was the master of the island, called Malope, together with two or three others, under peaceful circumstances.[4] No survey was made of the whole island but only of about three leagues around our camp. The natives of our island are blacks. Their canoes are small with a single mast which they use in going around the island towns, and

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[1] Note the use of the betel nut.

[2] *Kilitis*, as it is called in the Philippines, but we don't know if they make lime out of it.

[3] We don't know what this names means. Lord Stanley does not translate it and simply puts *sagia*. It is probably the Tagalog *saga*.

[4] The historians of the Philippines who do not fail to interpret unfavorably to the Indios a suspicion or accident, forget that on almost all occasions the cause of discords has always come from those who pretend to civilize them, by force of arquebuses and at the expense of the territories of the weak inhabitants. They could not say that the crimes committed by the Portuguese, Spaniards, Dutch, *etc.* in the colonies had been committed by the islanders.

they have large canoes which they use in going out to sea. On Sunday the eight of October, the Admiral ordered the Master of the Camp to be stabbed to death together with Tomás de Ampuero and they also beheaded Lieutenant Juan de Buitrego. He also tried to have two other friends of the Master of the Camp killed, but listening to our prayers to spare them, he relented. The reason was a public one: they wanted to decamp and abandon the land; and there must have been other reasons unknown to me. What I witnessed was such high-handed and shameful conduct and too hasty determination. On the eighteenth of October when there occurred a total eclipse of the moon, the Admiral died. On the second day of November, Don Lorenzo his brother-in-law who was the Captain General also died; then followed the priest Antonio de Serpa, after seven or eight days. Likewise, on the eight of November, the vicar Juan de Espinosa died too. There was considerable sickness among our men for the reason that our way of living permitted only very little comfort, scarce medicines, and there were few physicians, so that many of our people died. They prayed the lady Governor, Doña Isabel Barreto, to take them away from that land; so that all our people came on board the vessels, and thanks to God's mercy, we sailed away from the port on Saturday, the eighteenth day of the same month, following the Western course, one fourth Southeast toward the Island of San Cristobal, or rather in search of the same of the Admiral's flag-vessel as ordered by the lady Governor. We sailed for two days and failed to see anything, and upon petition of all our people who complained that we were taking them to their death, the lady Governor ordered me to devise a route from a point ten and one half degrees; to Manla from which I took a North northwesterly course, trying to evade islands on the way, owing to poor condition of our vessel's rigging, and so forth, with which I had to sail between sand islands with the personnel so ill that during the voyage about fifty persons died, and at the island we had left about forty dead persons. We travelled on our route lacking in provisions, five degrees south and another five degrees toward the North. We met many changing weathers from stormy to calm, and sailing out six long degrees North we sighted an island which appeared to be twenty-five leagues in size, very woody and quite thickly populated the same as the Ladrones Islands the people of which we saw coming in our direction with their canoes. The island lies or extends from the Southeast to the

North until the Southwest and is surrounded by reefs.[1] *About four leagues to the West there are a few low islets, and we could not find a place in which to anchor, try as we did. The galliot and frigates which had departed with us had disappeared some days before. From here we followed the same route until thirteen and three-fourths degrees latitude. After two days, traveling on the route to the West, we sighted La Serpana*[2] *and Guan*[3] *Islands in the Ladrones group and we sailed between the two without landing owing to lack of cables to throw and fasten the vessel to landing -place. This day was the third of January, Fifteen Hundred Ninety-Six; and on the fourteenth of the said month we sighted the Cape of Espiritu Santo (Holy Spirit); and on the fifteenth we anchored at the Bay of Cobos and arrived here in such a manner that only the goodness of God could have brought us safe, because neither human efforts nor our sails alone could have carried us even one tenth of the distance of the voyage. We arrived so utterly lacking in rigging, the personnel were all so weakened and thin, that they presented the most pitiable sight with only nine or ten containers of water left. At this Bay of Cobos,*[4] *the men were reorganized and the vessel's outfit was improved as well as could be. On Tuesday the second day of February, we sailed out of said port and bay; and on the tenth of the same month we arrived in this port of Cavite, and so forth.*

"Aside from my desire to serve Your Excellency, what impels me more to place this brief Report in your hands is the thought that in the event that God should dispose of my person and I may have to account for the same,[5] *or that there may be another similar opportunity to further elucidate these things or that the present one may prove insufficient, this will constitute a matter of great service to God and the King Our Lord. May it please Your Excellency to receive the expression of my*

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[1] Probably Ponapé.

[2] Seypan.

[3] Guam.

[4] The Filipino doctor T. H. Pardo de Tavera, going upon more extensive data of the history of discovery of the western regions made by General Pedro Fernández Quirós (Madrid 1876, Vol. I, pages 162-163) rightly believes that the bay of Cobos is the present Bay of Laguán.

[5] The intelligent translator of Morga, Lord Stanley, believes that this phrase *o la que llevo faltemos* (or the one I bring we fail) refers to Mrs. Isabel de Barreto or Mrs. Beatriz. We believe simply that the pronoun *la* refers to the account of his voyage that Quirós was carrying. Already Lord Stanley was astonished at Quirós lack of respect. Mrs. Isabel was married to Mr. Fernando de Castro. The two pronouns *della* before and after the phrase, both referring to *la relación* (the account) confirm our opinion.

best wishes to serve Your Excellency for long if God wills to return me to this Port, in which case there will be a better chance to prove it. Likewise, Your Excellency will please pardon me for being concise, as lack of time must be blamed for it, since this element is so scant for me. I beg Your Excellency to let this matter be kept a secret — as man does never know what developments will be brought in Time. Looking at it properly, it is but natural that the first Islands be kept guarded from common knowledge, until His Majesty be apprized thereof, and can send better facilities to serve his purposes. Knowing their location as well as we do, my advise is to reach them through the route of Perú, New Spain, and this country. When and if the English learn of the same, they may occupy and settle[1] those islands, to the great detriment of these sea-routes.

"May God Our Lord preserve Your Excellency many years in great contentment and abundance of blessings; and you may rest assured of your servant's devotion.

Your Servant

PEDRO FERNANDEZ DE QUIROZ

"To Doctor Antonio de Morga, His Majesty's Lieutenant-Governor for the Philippine Islands."

The vessel *San Gerónimo* on board which travelled Don Fernando de Castro and his wife, Doña Isabel Barreto, on her way back to New Spain, was found by Governor Don Francisco Tello getting ready to sail at the port of Cavite, when he arrived to assume his Office in the year Ninety-six. The galleon *San Felipe* was likewise getting ready to depart to New Spain, taking with her the valuable cargoes from the Philippine Islands. As soon as Governor Don Francisco Tello had taken Office, both vessels were cleared and set sail although the "San Gerónimo" sailed behind, still she reached New Spain in the latter part of said year Ninety-six. The galleon "San Felipe" which was a large vessel and loaded with merchandise and passengers, the commander and general of which was Don Matias de Landecho, met with several storms on the way; and during one of them, it became necessary to jettison a lot of canvas and awnings, and the rudder was lost at a latitude of thirty seven degrees, about six hundred leagues from the Philippine Islands, and one hundred and fifty from Japan. As there was no hope to continue the voyage, an effort was made to return to the Philippines Islands, and so they began to do this by changing the course they were taking, and again they met with still greater hardships and trouble. Oftentimes they saw themselves lost because the waves were enormous, and since the vessel had no rudder, the rigging and few sails it carried, kept on shaking and beating so that everything was ripped and torn and they were unable to keep it sailing, and sometimes it made sudden turn by force of the wind, so that often the vessel threatened to turn over; and hope to return to the Philippine Islands was often lost. They sometimes realized that the nearest land was Japan but that it was not so near either, that perhaps the vessel could not reach it nor approach its coast which is very rough, unseen and unknown to them, and they know just what kind of reception they would be given by the Japanese if they were fortunate enough to reach it. This was the reason for the confusion and diversity of opinions among the personnel of the vessel. Some opined that the present course they were taking for Manila should not be changed even if it was so dangerous and uncomfortable; while others said that it was great temerity to follow that course when Japan was so very much closer and they could look for the port of Nangasaki where there is trade with the Philippine Islands; that there they would be welcomed and then resume their voyage. The latter opinion prevailed since it was favored by the priests who were on board, and the rest adopted it considering that the pilots assured they could quickly navigate the vessel to Japan. Thus they changed their course to said port, and at the end of six days they sighted the coast and land of Japan in the province named Toza.[1] Even by daylight they made efforts to reach the land as at night when the wind subsided, the current drifted them farther away. From the port of Hurando, several *funés*[2] or sail-boats proceeded to meet the vessel and at the invitation of the King or Governor of the province[3] who offered them their port, together with provisions and supplies, they steered the vessel into the same, not without first making the proper soundings and a survey of the entrance, and noticing that there was sufficient depth. The Japanese who were Infidels and acting with bad faith, took the vessel in tow to the port and directed it to a shallow place, and as there was insufficient depth, the vessel got stranded and it, therefore, became necessary to unload it by discharging all these was on it[4] to a place near the town which was an enclosure assigned to them. The Japanese entertained the Spaniards but did not supply the vessel nor give it any clearance to enable it to resume its voyage. They stated that they could not do so without leave from Taicosama, Lord of Japan, who held his Court in Miaco,[5] one hundred leagues away from the port. Don Matias de Landecho, the General, and some members of his Staff, in order not to lose time decided to send to the Court their Ambassadors bearing gold gifts of valuables from the vessel for Taicosama, praying him to order their early clearance and discharge. They sent with these gifts, Cristobal de Mercado and three other Spaniards also Fr. Juan Pobre of the Franciscan Order, Fr. Juan Tamayo of the Augustinian Order who had come on the vessel, with instructions to make negotiations with Taico and use the good offices of the Franciscan priests who were already in the Court of Miaco having previously proceeded from the Philippine Islands as ambassadors with the commission to

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[1] This fear of the illustrious mariner was realized beyond what was expected, as the whole world knows.

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[1] On the island of Shikoku. It is written now Tosa.

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[1] Urado.

[2] From the Japanese *funé* which means vessel.

[3] Perhaps he was no more than a *daimio* or governor.

[4] The Japanese did all this, not because they were pagans, but because such was their custom. Not long ago Christian nations had similar procedures. Japan, like the Philippines and the European nations in the Middle Ages, consider the vessels that were shipwrecked in their waters the property of their king or lord. The Spaniards were not unaware of it, for the author himself already said (page 75): "They knew how they would be received."

[5] Capital city or Kioto.

establish good relations between Japan and the Philippine Islands, maintaining at the time a house and hospital in Miaco and making a few Christian converts, without the knowledge of Taico, although much against the approval of the priests of the Society of Jesus then also residing in the said Kingdom because, on the strength of apostolic license and Royal grant, no Order or denomination could undertake the conversion of Japan except their own. The King of Hurando was seemingly well-disposed towards and welcomed the Spaniards who sojourned in his kingdom, but he took care that the Spaniards and their merchandise and valuables were under his disposition and control. He then apprized the Court of how a vessel of foreigners whom he called *Nambajies*[1] and that these people were bringing great wealth with them. Taicosama's greed having been duly aroused, he sent Ximonojo one of his private and trusted counselors, to Hurando, who upon arriving there, seized the valuables and reduced the Spaniards to prison in a guarded stockade and compelled them to give up all their belongings, all they had hidden, on pain of death. After executing these acts most rigorously, Taico's man returned to his Court; and the General and his companions repaired to the Miaco or Court. The Ambassadors who had first been sent to the Court with the gifts were unable to see Taico — but the gifts were received — or to negotiate anything to their advantage, notwithstanding the representations made by Father Pedro Baptista, prelate of the Franciscan Order whose priests resided there, towards remedying the grievance to which the Spaniards had been subjected, all of which served only to worsen the situation; because having become aware that Taico coveted the wealth of the Spanish vessel, the private advisers were unwilling to listen to any argument for their restoration or of the vessel to the foreigners, the former not only refrained from advising said requests but even caused the confusion of the issues, taking advantage of the circumstances, considering that they were Infidels and hated the religious persons who were engaged in the conversion of their people to Christianity in the very Court, — they reported to Taicosama that those priests and the people in the vessel were under a single ruler who were conquering the kingdoms by first sending their priests then following them with armed forces, which was precisely what they intend to do in Japan. In order to bolster this contention, the private adviser stated that when he was in Hurando province to take the valuables from the vessels, he had been shown by Francisco de Landa the pilot, his navigation chart, showing everything that the Spaniards had discovered, also Spain itself and all the Kingdoms which His Spanish Majesty possessed, among these Perú and New Spain; that when the adviser had asked how is it that they had gained those kingdoms lying as they did so far away, and that the pilot had answered thus: "first the religious preachers entered the lands and taught their creed and then followed the fighting men who conquered the natives." It was true that said pilot had imprudently revealed those reasons, all of which Ximonojo had listened carefully and committed to memory for the purpose of transmitting the same to Taicosama in an opportune time, as he now did.[1]

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[1] Concerning this word *Nambaji* that Lord Stanley translates as "monk", the etymology of the word *Nambuds-Koo*, which, according to Kaemfer, means "brotherhoods" which sing the *Namanda* (*nama Amida Budsu*), etc. We dissent from the opinion of so illustrious a writer and believe that *Nambaji* comes from the Japanese *Nambanjin* which means "inhabitant of the barbarous South", equivalent to the German *Walsche*, as the missionaries came from the South.

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[1] After all Ximonojn neither lied nor erred. Witnesses are the Moluccas where Spanish missionaries served as spies; Cambodia which was to be conquered under the pretext of religion, and many other nations, among which are the Philippines, where the sacrament of baptism made the inhabitants not only subjects of the king of Spain but also slaves of the *encomenderos* and even slaves of the churches and convents. What would have become of Japan now if her emperors had not extirpated Catholicism? At the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, according to Fr. Diego Collado, one of the most ardent apostles of the Far East, it was said in writing on 22 March 1625 "that the king of Spain had concluded an agreement with some priests of the other orders of the Philippines that under pretext of preaching the faith and making Christians they win the Japanese and compel them to join the Spanish faction and finally to plot so that the Spanish King would become king of Japan." (Memorial of 1631) Fr. Diego Collado not only did not give the lie to this but further below he told the king to encourage him that Japan falls within more than 30° the 180° of the part of the world belonging to the crown of Castile for which reason he complained about the going to Japan of Portuguese, English, Italian, *etc.* missionaries. Therefore it was not for the sake of religion that they wanted to convert the infidels!

From all of this, and from the petition of the priests made for the return of the merchandise to the Spaniards — considering that he was a barbarous tyrant and a covetous[1] one at that, the result was that Taico became really angry and he ordered that all the priests be crucified, together with the rest who had been preaching in his domains the "The Law of Namban".[2] Then five priests who lived in the House of Miaco, the Court, and another one from the "San Felipe" who had joined the former, together with all Japanese preachers and converts were included. It was understood that this persecution was to be extended to all other priests and Christians who were in Japan; so that everybody felt great fear and confusion. However, this was later on moderated because Taico yielded to their representations and decreed that only the priests who had been living at the House in the Miaco and the Japanese and their preachers and "dojic" believers accompanying them who had been jailed, — would be crucified. All the rest and the Spaniards of the vessel would be allowed to return to Manila. The execution was entrusted to Fonsanbrandono brother of Taracabadono,[3] Governor of Nangasaki. All of those living in the religious community of St. Francis in the Maico were carried away in bullcarts; Pedro Baptista, Martín de Aguirre, Felipe de las Casas and San Miguel, all being friars, together with twenty-six Japanese preachers and "dojic" converts and two children in the service of the priests. He took them with a heavy guard, cut off their right ears and gave them a riding-exhibition around the streets of the Miaco and of those of Fugimen, Vsaca and Sacai[4] to the great sorrow and pain of all Christians who saw them suffer; carrying, hanging from a pole, the sentence of death and reason for their martyrdom, as follows:

> *"SENTENCE of the Combaco,[5] Lord of Japan, rendered against the bare-footed priests and their 'dojic' converts whose martyrdom was executed in Nangasaki:*

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[1] And perhaps as a farsighted and energetic politicians.

[2] The barbarous South.

[3] *Dono* or *Tono* is a title of nobility.

[4] Fushimi, Osaka, and Sakai.

[5] Rather, *Kambaku.*

"Whereas, these people have come from the Luzon Islands, Island (!) of Manila under the title of Ambassadors and permitted themselves to stay in this City of Miaco, preaching the Law of the Christians, which I had strictly forbidden several years ago, I now order their execution together with the Japanese men who had adopted their Creed. Thus these twenty-four persons shall be crucified in the City of Nangasaki. Thus I repeat again my prohibition now and henceforth of the said Creed; so let everyone understand this and beware! And I order that the sentence be carried out.

"If anyone should be so bold as to disobey this Commandment, let him be punished together with his whole family.

"Given this first of "Echo" *and second of the Moon."*

This was the manner in which these religious men were taken to Nangasaki where they were placed up a hill within the sight of the people and the whole port-fields planted to wheat and near a house and hospital, named Saint Lazarus, established by these priests when they arrived from the Philippine Islands, and before reaching the level of the Court, they were all crucified in a line, the priests in the middle and the rest at their sides, in tall crosses and iron rings around their necks, hands and feet, with long and sharp spears thrust into their sides from below. There they gave up the ghost to the Creator for whom they died, with much difficulty, on the fifth of February,[1] St. Agnes day, in the year of Our Lord, Fifteen Hundred and Ninety-seven, thus leaving in that plot and throughout that kingdom, a large field bathed in their blood from which a rich harvest of conversion to the catholic faith, is expected to be reaped.

Before the holy men were attached to their crosses they wrote to Doctor Antonio de Morga a letter addressed to him in Manila in the hand-writing of Fr. Martín de Aguirre, as follows:

"TO DOCTOR MORGA
Lieutenant Governor, Manila

"May God preserve you! Farewell Doctor, farewell! Our Lord for His Mercy has been served, not viewing my

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[1] This is, 6 February.

sins, in placing me among a company of twenty-four servants of God who die for His Love, six of whom including myself, are friars of Saint Francis, and eighteen are native-born Japanese with the expectation that others too will tread the same Road. May Your Excellency receive our last message and the last embraces of the entire company, as all of us are aware that you have favored and supported this undertaking of conversion. And now by way of our farewell to you, we pray you, myself particularly, to consider the spreading of Christianity as your own personal concern. And being a priest and looking favorably to all things which have been offered to the mission of priests, to this conversion. May Your Excellency likewise find those who will favor you and intercede for you in the presence of God, when the time of need should arrive. Farewell, sir, and please convey to your Lady Doña Juana our last message. May Our Lord protect you, and so forth.

"On our way to the scaffold, January twenty-eight, Fifteen Hundred Ninety-six.

"This King is gormandized on what he has stolen and gobbled up from the vessel "San Felipe" and it is rumored that in the coming year he is going to Luzon, because being so busy with the corios[1] *now, he cannot go this year. For this purpose he intends to take the Lequios Island*[2] and the *Hermosa*[3] *in order to jump with his men from this point, take Manila, unless God prevents his progress. May Your Excellency perceive what measures are important and convenient to take.*

FR. MARTIN DE LA ASCENSION"

The corpses of the martyrs although guarded for many days from the interference of the Japanese particularly those of the priests, were taken out piecemeal from the crosses as relics, by the Christians who lived there, and were distributed with great veneration among many places throughout Christendom, without leaving alone the rings and poles from the crosses.[4]

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[1] Koreans.

[2] Riu-Kiu or Lu-Tschu.

[3] Formosa.

[4] Appendix I in Lord Stanley's book has a most interesting note on these who have come to be known as "Martyrs of Japan", from which we are going to extract and translate some paragraphs.

Fr. Alejandro Valignano, Visitor of the Society of Jesus in Japan, seems to have left a manuscript book intended to refute the calumnies dismal and vexatious disputes as to whom belonged the missions in the

Two other priests of the same Society who were out of the House at the time of the arrest averted this martyrdom, one named Fr. Agustín Rodriguez was recovered by the Fathers of the Society who sent him away by way of Macao. General Don Matia and the Spaniards of the galley, left Japan naked and lacking in supplies. They sailed in Nangasaki and proceeded to Manila in vessels other than those making that regular run, under the management of Portuguese and Japanese. These were the bearers of the first news about said events in the month of May in the year Ninety-seven, a year of considerable bereavement and sorrow, owing to the death of the religious and holy men, and

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Empire of the Sun. This book dated in October 1598 is found in the Evora Library (cvx, 2-2). It contains 31 chapters, the last three of which were intended to refute the inexact assertions of Fr. Jerónimo de Jesús. The manuscript says that Fr. Martín de la Ascensión had written treatises against the Jesuits, submitting them for correction to Fr. Miguel e Roxo, a Portuguese priest friend of his, who was no little scandalized upon reading the calumnies that the book contained. Fr. Valignano complains about the flippancy of Fr. Martin for having dared to write treatises on Japan not having been there more than 5 or 6 months, having begun to write three months after his arrival at Nangasaki.

In chapter 27 Fr. Valignano says that the friars invented a plan to hide and cover the corruptions committed in Japan and to discredit the Jesuits. The plan consists of celebrating a grand festival and holding processions in honor of the crucified friars, proclaiming them as martyrs and the members of the Society knew very well how to save their lives and to avoid martyrdom.

In reply to this accusation the Fr. Visitor calls attention that the three Jesuits who were crucified with the friars by mistake died with as much faith and constancy as the others. One of them was Aligi (michi) Paulo, Jesuit Brother for more than 12 years. That the Society does not envy the Friars for their martyrs but it thinks that their canonization is a right reserved to the Pope and therefore, as His Holiness has not yet declared them martyrs, the friars are doing wrong in distributing their relics. He blames those who were executed for having presented a long list of Japanese Christians to Gibunoxo (Ximonojo) who prudently did not show it to Taicosama in order not to compromise many important persons.

Fr. Valignano denies moreover the miracles that the friars attribute to their martyrs. "1. Though the bodies were preserved during the first days, thanks to the cold, nevertheless they rotted later and smelled like the others; 2. It has been made of record after his death; there were only putrid humours that came out together with the intestines; 3. It has been claimed that a quantity of his blood was preserved pure in liquid state; the truth was that Juan Bautista Bonacian, Milanese, collected blood in a towel took it home and squeezed it into a porcelain bottle, closed it, and kept it in a box with the intention (as he told me) to take it with him to Italy for his personal devotion and to relate what he had seen with his own eyes. I had just arrived from India when he came to Macao and he brought me the bottle for the pleasure of showing it to me because the blood was in liquid state, which he believed was marvellous and because the larger part of that blood was Brother Aligi Paulo's. Bishops Pedro Martin, expelled from Japan, and Mr. Luis, who was going to take his place, were in Macao at the time. I introduced to them the to the trouble which was expected regarding the relations between Japan and the Philippine Islands, considering that the loss of the galleon and valuable cargo which was being sent to New Spain, was worth over a million pesos of which the needy Spaniards had been deprived of.

While considering what was best to do in view of the circumstances, it was lastly thought that this matter could not be left unattended to, and that a responsible person be sent to Taicosama bearing letters from the Governor to express to him his deep concern over the matter of depriving the Spaniards of their vessel and valuable merchandise, and of executing their priests, requesting him to put a remedy to the situation as best could be by restoring to the Spaniards their merchandise, artillery, rigging and spoils which had remained in the vessel, likewise the bodies of the priests who had been crucified and making such dispositions as would prevent the Spaniards from being treated in such a fashion in his Kingdom.

After these measures, the Governor sent to Japan Don Luis Navarrete[1] Fajardo bearing a present of some valuable gifts of gold and silver, swords and expensive clothes for Taicosama, likewise a well-caparisoned ele-

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Milanese and his bottle. They opened it and inserted a piece of paper to examine the liquid which by its color did not resemble blood at all, though indeed by its bad odor .After considering the matter carefully between us three, we closed the bottle with a piece of cloth just as it was before and we returned it to Juan Bautista without saying what we thought of it in order not to offend his devotion; but we believed that there was nothing there that resembled a miracle, so much so that we believed that *blood collected in cloth and squeezed afterward would naturally remain liquid because the coagulable part would remain adhered to the cloth.* Later the friars acquired the bottle and without mentioning the name of Aligi Paulo took it the Vicar of Macao, a person little versed in letters. who, without consulting with our priests nor with the bishops, induced by the friars, certified that the blood was liquid and its preservation seemed marvellous, all this, without mentioning either its bad color nor its repugnant odor. When Bishop Pedro learned about it, he summoned the Vicar and he admonished him for having decided the matter clandestinely, notwithstanding that two bishops and several Jesuit fathers, among whom were five or six professors of theology, were there."

Despite all this, they were later cononized and declared saints as Martyrs of Japan. How many martyrs and saints must there be in the calendar who owe their reputation to ignorance of human physiology?

[1] Argensola calls him Aldarete, undoubtedly an error of the clerk.

phant[1] covered with silk and also caretakers wearing a similar livery, a thing which had not been seen in Japan, so that according to the usage in said Kingdom he should deliver the same to Taico at the precise time that he delivers his ambassadorial representation; otherwise it was not the rule to give or receive any such presents. Upon the arrival of Don Luis Navarrete in Nangasaki, Taicosama sent for him and the gift given to him from Luzon, with much pleasure, stating that he wished to see him, particularly the elephant, which pleased his extremely. He listened to the representations made and answered them with much ceremony and ostentation, expressing his regret for the deed of the priests, whom he blamed, however, for the reason that notwithstanding having forbidden the work of converting people to Christianity by teaching them its Law, these priests had violated his mandate in his own Court, thus belittling the same. Likewise, the seizure of the vessel which had entered the port of Hurando in the province of Toza, and its cargo of merchandize, had been justified under the laws of Japan, because all the vessels which are wrecked along the coast together with all its cargo becomes the King's property. However, he regretted the whole matter and said that he would return the merchandise if it had not all been disposed of. As to the bodies of the priests, that matter could no longer be remedied; on the contrary, he was now asking the Governor in Manila not to send such persons to Japan, because he had lately enacted laws prohibiting, on pain of death, the conversion of his people to Christianity. And as to the delivery of what was left of the corpses of the priests; and with regard to peace and friendship with those of Luzon and the Spaniards, he would stop impairing the latter and endeavor to do everything to remedy the same. He would further order that any vessel from Manila that should arrive in his Kingdom be well received and treated. The ambassador departed from the Miaco with this answer and with a letter to the

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[1] Perhaps one of the elephants that the king of Cambodia, seeking alliance, had sent to Manila with Diego Belloso.

Spanish Governor and a present of spears, coats-of-arms[1] and *katanas* or Oriental swords of rare workmanship which are greatly appreciated by the Japanese, and he proceeded to Nangasaki, from which port he communicated with Governor Don Francisco Tello by first available opportunity to Manila, reporting on what he had made negotiations about, all of which were brought to Manila by other persons; because the Ambassador, Don Luis Navarrete Fajardo, died of illness in Japan. Taicosama was content with the reply he had given to the Ambassador, as he had not actually granted anything which had been demanded from him, his language being all complimentary words for the sake of appearances rather than any gesture of amity towards the Spaniards. It was even being spread around with arrogance and confirmed by his private adviser, that said presents and proceedings had been sent and resorted to by the Spaniards owing to their fear of him, and as an acknowledgment that they owed him tribute as their ruler, and that he might not destroy them as he had threatened to do some years ago, during the incumbency of Governor Gomez Perez Dasmariñas, at which time they had also sent him gifts through Fr. Juan Cobo of the Dominican Order, and Captain Llanos.

In Japan, Faranda Quiemon was promoting war with Manila, and the private advisers who supported him did not fail to request Taico not to lose such an opportunity to win, because, in view of the fewness of the Spaniards in Manila, it was easy to succeed. He urged that a fleet be sent over as soon as possible, promising that he personally would go with the same, assuring victory in his defenses. He insisted so much that Taico entrusted him with the enterprise, giving him certain aid and other facilities to execute the same. So he began to equip himself and gather together, vessels and Chinese crews with which to proceed with the expedition. However, it never materialized for the reason that, being a man from a low station and poor, he never could gather sufficient means with which to carry out the enterprise.

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[1] Armor.

Neither did his supporters and patrons supply him with said means. So that the adventure kept on being postponed and postponed and it finally petered out with the death of Taico and of the warmonger himself as will be hereinafter mentioned.

Every day there arrived news in Manila to the effect that in Japan they were preparing a fleet, and that Faranda was at the head of everything, so that the people therein lived in an atmosphere of caution and uneasiness, which was justified considering that the enemy was haughty and powerful, even if the residents of the City were full of courage and made every sacrifice to resist invasion. Nevertheless, the Governor and the City residents never showed in public, any concern or knowledge that Taico would change existing conditions. They did this in order not to precipitate war or give any cause for it from this end, but they simply awaited developments and continued to carry on with the needs of the City and to prepare for any eventuality. They sent back to Japan all Japanese nationals who resided in Manila — and these were not few — and those who arrived on commercial vessels were made to deposit their arms brought with them until their departure, seeing to it that they stayed in the country as short a time as possible, treating them well, however, in every other way. In view of the fact that they presumed Taico to be planning to take the Island of Formosa, a large and well-provisioned island on the Chinese coast, very near Luzon in the route to Japan, — in order to make of it a stepping-stone for its fleet, and then wage war very comfortably with Manila, — the Governor sent out two fleet-vessels under the command of Don Juan de Zamudio in order to reconnoiter said Island and all its ports, and to study its strategical position with a view to taking possession of it before the enemy did, or at least in the case of lack of means and time to do so, to notify China, the Viceroys of the provinces of Canton and Chincheo[1], so that, being old enemies of Japan, they would prevent the latter's entry into said Island which was so unfavorable a matter to happen. These precautions caused the postponement of the matter for several days. In the end, nothing was done about the intended expedition to the Island of Formosa, except to apprize the great nation of China of the designs of Japan.

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[1] TienTsin.

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After a few days of imprisonment in Cochin-China where Captain and sergeant-major Juan Xuarez Gallinato had left him, Fr. Alfonso Ximenez was given by the King of Tungquin and that of Sinua, a chance to proceed to Manila on Portuguese vessels calling at the port of Macao. This priest did not become surfeited with the journeys, work and imprisonment he had experienced, but rather acquired new energy to endeavor to revive the intended expedition to Cambodia. Although there was scant information regarding the state of affairs in said kingdom and of the restoration of Praunkar to his throne; he went to Manila with two other priests of his Order who had previously wielded such influence on Don Luis Dasmariñas, (now already in the city and out of the government of the Islands), and these priests endeavored to persuade and influence him to carry out the expedition in person, at the expense of his Estate, for the reason that favorable results could be produced in the service of God and of His Majesty.[1] Don Luis approached the Governor, Don Francisco Tello, and offered to bear all expenses, with the result that the project was placed under advisement until they should receive new information regarding Cambodia, the only one existing being that Blas Ruiz and Diego Belloso had proceeded from Cambodia to Laos, leaving Captain Gallinato with his vesesls in the former place.

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In view of the departure of Juan Ronquillo from the Mindanao River taking his Campo with him, the Tampacans became so discouraged and the Buhahayans became so encouraged that, notwithstanding the treaty of friendship and obedience they had made, now they gradually became enemies again, and matters were in such a condition that the latter not only failed to pull down their forts as they had promised to do, but they even improved them and committed other excesses against the Tampacans, their neighbors, and would have openly made war with them, were it not that they feared the Spaniards would return with greater determination and with more men, having abandoned the Penal Camp of Caldera with this avowed purpose. So they went along without declaring themselves rebels or making gestures of friendship with the Tampacans, others and the Spaniards.

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[1] With regard to this Lord Stanley says: "This Fr. Alonso Ximenez and his historian gave a new proof of veracity of the 'imprudent' pilot who explained to the Japanese the way how such scattered kingdoms had been conquered. Modern practice has substituted the phrase: *in the service of God* and *of His Majesty* for the *supply of the markets*." "Perhaps this was true in 1868, the time when Lord Stanley wrote, because now it is said: "Place under its protectorate, to civilize," *etc.*

Near the Island of Mindanao there is an Island, a smaller one, called Jolo (or Sulu) well-populated if not so large, by natives who are invariably Mohammedans. There are approximately (terna)[1] three thousand people therein with their own particular lord and king. When Governor Francisco de Sande was returning from his expedition to Borneo, he sent to Jolo Captain Esteban Rodriguez de Figueroa who entered Jolo and brought the natives there to subjugation to His Majesty, as hereinbefore stated. They were subjected to an *encomienda* or grant given to Captain Pedro de Osseguera to last his lifetime and after his death, to be held by his son and successor, Don Pedro de Osseguera. For several years he collected from the natives such tribute or taxes as they would pay him, which was a pittance; but he refrained from burdening them in order to avoid trouble. When Don Juan Ronquillo was at the Camp in Mindanao the Joloanos or Sulus seeing that the Spaniards were getting strong, exhibited a willingness to pay tribute but when they saw the Spanish leave the Camp, they returned to their previous state of indifference. In the absence of Don Juan Ronquillo, Captain Juan Pacho became commander of the Penal Camp of Caldera. Having sent a few soldiers to gather bees-wax the Sulus ill-treated them, killing two soldiers. Captain

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[1] *Tendrá.* (will have)

Juan Pacho having decided to punish the outrage of the Sulus, went personally with thirty soldiers on sailing-vessels and landed in Sulu. Then a great number of Sulus descended from the King's settlement which was very well fortified up on a plateau, and attacked the Spaniards. Inasmuch as the Sulus were numerous and the Spaniards could not use their arquebuses to good advantage owing to a hard rain, the latter were defeated and Captain Juan Pacho was killed in action, together with about twenty of his men, while the rest were wounded and had to retreat with their backs toward their boats where they took refuge and sailed back to Caldera Penal Camp.

This event was profoundly regretted in Manila, particularly because of the loss of prestige of the Spaniards both among the Sulus and the Mindanaos, their neighbors. Inasmuch as this misfortune had to be remedied by a punitive expedition against the Sulus, and considering that there were insufficient means to accomplish this expedition which had to be an energetic and effective one, the matter was postponed until better times should come. So, in the meantime, only Captain Villegas, the commander of Caldera Penal Camp was sent with a few soldiers and when they arrived in Sulu they limited themselves to petty actions to entertain themselves until their provisions gave out, for which the Penal Camp suffered. On the other hand, the Tampacans felt themselves scarcely grateful to the Spaniards who they knew were encamped in the Island, so they just got along as well as they could, awaiting the arrival of the Spaniards in greater numbers, according to Don Juan Ronquillo's promise, likewise the revenge and punishment of the Sulus.

Those being the conditions then prevailing in the Philippine Islands, in May fifteen hundred and ninety-eight, certain vessels arrived in Manila from New Spain bringing orders for the restoration of the *Audiencia Real* or Royal Court which had been dispensed with some years before in the Philippine Islands, with Don Francisco Tello who governed the land, as its Presiding Justice, and as *Oidores* or Associate Justices, Doctor Antonio de Morga and the advocates Cristobal Tellez Almazán and Alvaro Rodriguez Zambrano, as Fiscal or Solicitor General, the advocate Geronimo de Salazar, together with other dignitaries of the *Audiencia.* On the same vessels there also arrived Archbishop Fr. Ignacio de Santibañez who held his position for a brief time only, for the reason that he died of dysentery in August of the same year. There also came the bishop of Cebu, Fr. Pedro de Agurto. On the eighth day of May of the same year fifteen hundred ninety-eight, the Royal Seal of the *Audiencia* was received. It was brought ceremoniously from the Monastery of the Augustinians to the principal church on the back of a horse caparisoned with *dark-purple goldcloth, under* a Pall of the same cloth, the bars of which were borne by the City Aldermen, wearing purple velvet robes lined with white silver-cloth, wearing shoes and doublets of the same cloth. The horse on which the Seal was carried inside a box of gold-cloth covered with brocade, was led by the person acting as *Alguacil Mayor* or High Constable, walking on the right side dressed in gold-cloth, while the Presiding Justice and his Associates were around the horse, all being on foot with bare heads. Ahead of them were very many citizens of the City wearing costly dress clothes, and behind them were all the Camp personnel and militiamen carrying and beating drums and holding banners and arms, the captain and the officers being at their posts, and the Master of the Camp in front of them holding his baton. The streets and house-windows were richly decorated with hangings and finery and there were many triumphal arches and wind-instruments were played, aside from trumpets and other instruments used. When the Seal of the Court arrived at the door of the principal Church of Manila there came to meet it the Archbishop in his pontifical robes, bearing the cross, and accompanied by the *cabildo* or cathedral dignitaries together with the clergy. As soon as the box containing the Seal was lifted from the horse it was taken inside the church and placed in the hands of the Presiding Justice accompanied by his Associates, and the Choir began to chant the *Te Deum Laudamus* or

Praise as God as they all marched to the main altar on the steps of which awaited a dais covered with brocade on which was placed the box with the Seal, and everyone kneeled down. Then the Archbishop chanted some hymns to the Holy Spirit, for the health and good government on the part of the King, our Master; upon which the Presiding Justice again took the box and Seal, following the same order of procedure with the same strains of music in leaving the church as when entering the same. The box was again placed on the back of the horse, while the Archbishop and the clergy remained at the door as the Seal was conveyed by the same company to the Government or Royal building, in a well-decorated room under a canopy of crimson velvet, with the Royal Arms embroidered thereon, on a table covered with brocade, with corresponding pillows to match, the said box and Seal were placed on the same, covered by a cloth of crimson gold-fabric. Then there was read in public the Authorization for the Court's organization also the appointments of the Presiding Justice and the Associate Justices and the Fiscal, and they were duly recognized, honored and obeyed. They duly took their prescribed oaths of office. Then the Presiding Justice came out to the hall of the *Audien cia* where the furniture was well decorated under a canopy baring the Royal Arms. The Presiding Justice and his Associates and the Fiscal sat down on their respective seats, and they received the dignitaries and officers of the Court; and its rules were read in the presence of the representatives of the City, and as many of its citizens as could be accomodated. Here ended the ceremonies of installation of the *Audiencia* and its functionaries; and from then on, the business of the Court was transacted and there were entrusted to the same for hearing and decision, all the litigations and cases, both civil and criminal, within its jurisdiction, that is comprising the Philippine Islands, and the discovered (and to be discovered) portions of China. Likewise under the Presiding Justice, in his capacity as Governor General, are the functions of State and administration, according to the Royal laws and ordinances, and the *cédulas* or orders which were brought overr with those for the *Audiencia.*

A few days after the reestablishment of the Higher Court in the City of Manila, the news arrived regarding what had occurred in the Kingdom of Cambodia subsequent to the arrival of Praunkar, son and successor to Praunkar Langara who had died in Laos, — in the company of Diego Belloso and Blas Ruiz de Hernán Gonzales, and concerning their victories and the restoration of the King to his throne, as has already been narrated, through a letter of King Praunkar to the Governor Don Francisco Tello, and another one to Dr. Antonio de Morga, signed by said King in his own handwriting and bearing his seal in red ink and in the Spanish language,[1] so that it may be better understood. Inasmuch as both letters convey the same substance, it is proper to quote herein the one sent to Dr. Antonio de Morga by King Praunkar, couched in the following terms:

> *"PRAUNKAR, KING OF CAMBODIA, TO DOCTOR ANTONIO DE MORGA, GREETINGS! I AM SENDING THIS LETTER WITH GREAT AFFECTION AND CONTENTMENT.*
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> *I, Praunkar, King of Cambodia, a land of abundance, I being the sole supreme master thereof, have to state that I profess a great affection for Dr. Antonio de Morga, whom I am unable to disengage from my mind, because I have learned from Captain* Chofa *(Don) Blas of Castille who helped the Governor of Luzon, and whose kind heart was instrumental in causing the Governor to send to this land both Captain* Chofa *Don Blas*[2] *of Castille and Captain* Chofa *Don Diego of Portugal and their soldiers to search for King Prqunkar, my late father, whom they did not find, but the two* Chofas *and their soldiers killed Anacaparan who had lorded it over us. Then they went to Cochin-China with their vessels, and the two* Chofas *went to Laos in search of the King of the land, and brought me to my Kingdom where I now stay owing to them. The two* Chofas *and the Spaniards who also came have helped me to pacify what I now possess, and I understand*

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[1] Probably dictated by Blas Ruiz or Diego Belloso, or by both.

[2] Blas Ruiz must have forgotten Morga's opposition to this expedition to Cambodia.

that all of this has happened to me for the reason that the Doctor loves this country. For this reason, I shall always respond to any call that Dr. Antonio de Morga may make on me, in the same manner as my father Praunkar; and may you favor us by sending here your priests to stay with the two Chofas *and the other Spaniards and Christians who now live in my Kingdom; and I shall build churches for them and will give them leave to Make Christians out of all Cambodians who may want to become it. I shall give them people to serve them and I shall take care of all of them as my late father King Praunkar used to do. And I shall assist Dr. Antonio de Morga in everything that he may desire in this land. I have given the two* Chofas *all the land I had promised to them: to Captain Don Blas of Castille, the Province of Tran, and to Captain* Chofa *Don Diego of Portugal, the Province of Bapano. All of this I have given to them out of recognition for their services rendered to me and in payment of the wealth they spent in my service, for them to have and to hold and dispose of as their own, as they may desire while in my service."*[1]

Blas Ruiz de Hernán Gonzales wrote to Doctor Morga a long letter attached to that of the King in which he relates every event happening during his journeys, as follows:

"TO DOCTOR ANTONIO DE MORGA, LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS, IN THE CITY OF MANILA, LUZON,—WHOM GOD PROTECT!

RE CAMBODIA

"Perhaps Your Excellency has already received news about everything which has taken place in this Kingdom of Cambodia from the time I came to the same, until the Captain took the fleet, although from several points of view, according to each one's convenience, in order to promote his own interests, while others, according to their inclinations and beliefs, and still others, according to their passion. Nevertheless, since the events have been seen and heard about by various persons and are thus patent to many, I shall give Your Excellency the best version I possibly can, as the person to whom

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[1] This letter resembles very closely the one Fr. Diego Aduarts brought as written by the same Praunkar to Fr. Alonso Ximenez. Taking away the rate power that this king gave to the same priest at the end of his letter "to procure and ask for funds from his vassals in Manila" and changing the names, it could be said that there was only one original for both letters.

all of these will find their way and be considered by, giving to each item its due weight and the proper credit to whomsoever may deserve the same, covering everything that happened to Captain Diego Belloso and myself during our journey to Laos, and the changes and wars which occurred in this Kingdom since we entered the same, up to the present condition of affairs existing at the present time. Inasmuch as Spaniards have taken part in all of them, Your Excellency will find certain pleasure in the account. The manner and fashion in which I lived in this Kingdom since I arrived from there, maintaining the soldiers and other persons who were brought in my vessel at my own expense, keeping them under control and in good repute, not permitting them to separate from each other not bringing any papers with me, because those that the Governor intended for me were borne by Gallinato. The rest of what happened to us and the Chinese, and why they happened, I am not now discussing, because many of them were witnessed by Frs. Alonzo Ximenez and Diego[1] *and others who must have reported all to Your Excellency, likewise our war with the tyrant ,and the neglect of the Kingdom committed by Gallinato, when the business had already been completed. If he had only participated therein, perhaps half of the country would have been in favor of His Majesty and with good reason. All of it would be governed by Spaniards and be under their control, and*

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[1] This is Fr. Diego Aduarte who afterwards was Bishop of Nueva Segovia, and wrote *Relaciones de Mártires* and a *Historia de la Provincia del Santo Rosario* in which he relates extensively this expedition and the part he played in it. In vain did he try to depict this enterprise in a favorable aspect, trying to justify the killing of the Chinese, the death of Anacaparan, and the burning of his palace, though with contradictions and improbable details, with miracles and actions truly heroic and marvellous. In one night, in the midst of a violent hurricane, "in which there was no man who could remain standing", he heard the confession of the Christians of the fleet, he catechised the infidels, baptizing twenty-two of them in different languages, and he administered the sacraments to all, besides confessing several times and hearing the confession of his Provincial; he certified that not only was the water of the wells on the coast the dew from Heaven, etc. He tells with a certain candour how they tried to deceive Anacaparan, how they burned the palace, which in order to excuse it, he said "they only lighted bonfires to be able to see one another, *etc.*," how he did not fail to hear the confession of his companions before letting them loose to kill those who slept peacefully and to burn their houses. Fr. Diego Aduarte was the type of the friar adventurer of the time, half warrior and half priest, brave and long-suffering, hearing confessions, baptizing, and killing, full of faith and without any scruple. His historian, Fr. Domingo Gonzales, of his own order, depicts him as a virtuous bishop, who died in the odor of sanctity, his body being found many months later "more bearded than when he died." Morga, who differs from him in many parts, must have judged the events after hearing different parties and accounts of the personages interested in this enterprise.

perhaps the King would have become a Christian and the majority of his people as well.[2] *Regarding the matter of the Chinese, and this shall be our main topic, I will only request Your Excellency to consider the point in the Kingdom which we have come to assist, the Chinese did not have any more rights than we had; that we were to endeavor to win reputation instead of losing it. Inasmuch as we came under conditions of war, and that it was the first time that a Spanish fleet had entered a mainland, was it proper for us to be made to suffer by people as infamous as they were, with their taunts, outrages and contemptuous conduct, public affronts before all those Gentiles? And straightway they were able to engage in argument with the tyrant king, so as to induce him to kill us, telling him many infamies and evil things about us in order to coerce him into granting all they desired from him! Moreover, consider the shamelessness with which they killed Spaniards, disarmed them and went out to the streets to attack us with lances, all of which I suffered with great patience, in order not to scandalize the land by breaking with them, until one day we determined to kill some of them in their parian many of them wounded and angered, and the odds being too great against us; then coming outside in view of the great commotion, they went out to the field with many implements of war, calling out to us to fight them amidst insults and great insolence*[3] *on their part, — how were we, seeing that they had reached this degree of insolence and haughtiness — to maintain our reputation? by retreating perhaps? Upon attacking us and considering that they had gained great advantage over us, we had many of them killed, and so what expectation could we have in a tyrant country, where no friendly gesture was made to us, who had only one vessel which at present was stranded, with our artillery and equipment outside the vessel, while they had six vessels and many rowboats which carried small mortars, to say nothing of the many sympathizers both on their vessels and around the landing-place? Would it appear proper after the war had begun, to let them keep all these advantages of might, while we had none of them? If they were able to kill us, what reputation would have been left to the Spaniards in these Kingdoms? For these reasons, I considered it*

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[2] Lord Stanley judges severely this Blas Ruiz as a traitor who wants to despoil his benefactor. If Blas Ruiz did not show himself later as very much interested, we would say that he acted for patriotism, though Spain did not then need to commit these treacherous unsurpations to be well off: Perhaps she already had too much power.

[3] Blas Ruiz exaggerates the boldness of the Chinese even more than Fr. Diego Aduarte does.

best to obtain the upper hand on them instead of being at their mercy, and that of their King. Thus, in order to safeguard our lives, we were compelled to seize their vessels from them and to strengthen ourselves with these since it had been they who had started the strife. After this it appeared convenient to Fr. Alonzo Ximenez and ourselves to appear before the King, making him an ambassadorial visit bearing some presents with us, and giving our excuses or explanations[4] *on the incident, and endeavoring to promote peace with him, and place our persons under safeguard behind our fortress, promising to give back the vessels and valuables, all of which was put to writing. To do this, the letter had to be in the name of the Governor of that City (Manila) which we brought with us nine leagues distant from there where the King stayed, leaving the vessels as a precaution. He detained us there and took from us the vessels which we had boarded and refused to receive the letter delivered in the name Diplomacy, or to listen to our side of the question, unless we first surrendered our vessels.*[5] *Then he sent for arms and called many people, determined to kill us or coerce us into yielding the vessels, and after this, to finish us all, with hardly any effort nor exposition to harm on their part, because he had no reason to trust us who had gone to the land to help and search for the one whom he had deprived of his throne. All this was related to us by some few Christians living among them, particularly a young mestizo who had come from Malacca, living with them and, therefore, knowing the language. We thought it over, that we were separated from each other and if we gave up the vesels, it was an easy matter for them to take our own vessels through the former, and to kill those of us who were here. If we waited for them to call more people and for them all to attack us, they would surely kill us very easily; for which reason, we decided at once to devise a remedy by attacking and keeping together to protect our lives, instead of waiting to be attacked and to die fighting. Thus, we took the offensive, and our fortune was so good that we killed the enemy in the battle, then we retreated to our vessels, with the greatest difficulty, but without, however, losing*

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[4] This step betrays their feeling of guilt as well as the excuse Fr. Diego Aduarte gives to insinuate his no complicity, saying that he was closed up in a house while the massacre of the Chinese was going on.

[5] This conduct of Anacaparan was very just and irreproachable in accord with the uses of diplomacy. To deal with culpable persons or rebels is to concede them something and to surrender part of one's own rights.

a single Spaniard, and without permitting his (the King's) house to be looted, in order that it may not be said that we killed him with a view to robbing his house.[6]

"At this juncture, our Chief, Captain and sergeant-major (Gallinato) arrived, and he condemned and criticized what we had done, and made fun of what he and some Cambodians claimed, that is, that we had killed the tyrant.

"He only ordered to be gathered all the silver and gold which some soldiers had taken, and the best part of the vessels, and then burned these and drew up papers for our indictment, dispossessed us of our vessels and ranks and maintained suspicion and distrust of us, and ordered us to leave the Kingdom. He also disregarded many Cambodians who were frequent visitors of ours as we used to go ashore, and who were in our favor. It was these who advised us to build entrenchments for our defense, because, at first they said they had a legitimate King who had been driven away to Laos by the present one, so that the Cambodians had no King now, and they were ready "to side with the tree that could give them a better shade" and advised us to go ahead with the war. Neither did Gallinato even listen to any advise they offered, such as that the tyrant had seized a relative of the rightful King and that we should go and free him, and that he (the Cambodians) would raise a contingent of men in favor of the legitimate King and that through their mediation, we would come to possess the Kingdom and then we should go and seek the King. To all this, Gallinato frowned upon, thus abandoning the Kingdom to its fate, and thereby losing the great opportunity. We were able to convince him only when we were out on the high seas, to proceed to Cochin-china to make demands regarding the galley, because even from Manila, this had been desired to be done, and I offered to go to Laos by land at my expense as I knew that it was on that road that the search for the King of Cambodia was being made; thus, we proceeded to make that journey and as soon as we arrived, we, both Captain Belloso and myself, were directed to go to Laos while Captain Gregorio de Vargas was assigned to go to Tonquin. In the meantime, he sold at auction all the best part of the vessels and the stuff which he had collected from the soldiers who were

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[6] Nevertheless they burned the palace.

all penniless, taking everything for himself for purposes which seemed best to him.[1] *The King Sinoa, Province of Cochin-China, provided us with victuals for the journey to Laos, with very good facilities, giving us ambassadorial letters for that end, also men to accompany us on the road. Thus, we travelled to the end of the road, well provided for, and were always well respected and feared, and very much admired as if we were something never seen thereabouts in these Kingdoms. We all took sick on the road, but the kindness shown to use by the people helped us in every way; also the good reception tendered us by everyone, so that we arrived in such manner at Lan Chan, the capital of the Kingdom and where the king resides. It is a kingdom with extensive lands but sparcely populated, because it has been destroyed many times by the Pegus. It has mines of gold, silver, copper, iron, brass*[2] *and lead. It produces silk, benzoin, lacquer*[3]*, beeswax, ivory, avadas*[4]*, many elephants and horses, larger than those of China. It is bounded on the East by Cochin-china, on the Northeast and North by China and Tartary, from where it obtains its sheep and asses which existed when I was there. It engages in transport of merchandise by these animals; and on the West and Southeast, it is bounded by Pegu and Siam, and on the South and Southeast, by Cambodia and Champan.*[5] *This is a rich land and every commodity brought over from outside, is highpriced. Before we arrived in Lanchan, a cousin of the exiled king had arrived from Cambodia, who, in view of the tyrant's death, was no longer afraid that they would kill the son who already ruled. The new arrival related all that we had achieved in Cambodia, for which reason, the King of*

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[1] We don't know if Gallinato could justify all these accusations which if true, they would not have let him hold the high positions that he later did.

[2] Perhaps he wanted to say lead or another metal because brass being an artificial compound, there can't be mine of it, as Lord Stanley observes.

[3] Lacquer. They called "lacquer", resin mixed with wax used to seal letters.

[4] We don't know the meaning of this word that Lord Stanley translates as grapes. In the oldest edition of the dictionary of the Academy (1726) we find *abada*, female rhinoceros, (*rhinoceros femina*). Perhaps Blas Ruiz refers to this, for the rhinoceros is found also in the Indo-Malayan region.

[5] This kingdom has disappeared. The old *Ciampa*, *Tsiampa*, or *Zamba* was, some Jesuit historians say, the most powerful kingdom of Indochina, its dominion extending from the banks of the Menam until the gulf of Ton-king. On some maps of the XVI century we have seen it reduced to the region that now belongs to Mois; on other maps, to the northern part of Cochin-china, disappearing completely on later maps. Probably the present Sieng-pang is the only city that inherited its ancient past.

Laos gave us a splendid welcome and appreciates us greatly, praising the achievement, and was greatly surprised at the few people who had accomplished it. When we arrived, the old king of Cambodia, his eldest son and daughter had already been killed, and there had survived the youngest son, his mother, his aunt, and grandmother, all of whom were much pleased and surprised by the event and by our visit. From then on they paid more attention to said matters. Before we arrived in the City, we met an envoy who had been sent by the tyrant Anacaparan to Cambodia, before we entered the City, to see what was going on there in the way of any grievance or petition on the part of the old queen, mother-in-law of Praunkar, the deceased king, who claimed to be the sister of his father; and the king of Laos bade her to go back in view of our arrival and of the certainty of the king's death; and as to the envoy, he fled back downstream to Cambodia by boat, lest he be slain. Then we delivered our diplomatic message and requested the delivery to us of the heir to the kingdom of Cambodia in order to take him on board our vessels and then conduct him to his country; and the answer to this was that there was no one except his youthful person, and so they could not surrender him to us, especially to travel through a foreign kingdom, through such difficult route and seas to travel. The youth wished to go, but his mother would not consent to this. Finally, however, it was decided that we should return to our fleet and take him to Cambodia from which place we were to send back advise of his arrival there; and then they would send many people to escort him to his land. His mother gave me letters for said City, containing many promises on the part of the Kingdom in the event that the Spaniards could return to Cambodia and pacify the land, and afterwards deliver the same to them. The King of Laos sent an envoy on his part soliciting friendship and urging that the fleet return to Cambodia; but Gallinato declined to return stating that he would help on land with many men, and that they would deliver the heir to them. With this agreement settled, we prepared our vessels and left for Cochin-China. While these things were happening, the following developments occurred in Cambodia: After the departure of the fleet, the death of Anacaparan was announced, and upon learning of the same, Chupinaqueo, the relative of the rightful king, who had been under detention, got released and aroused the people of a Province to revolt and gathered together its people and proclaimed Praunkar as the legitimate king; went out too look for *us with about six thousand men to join us and make war on the sons of the tyrant who were already ruling; and since he did not find us at Chordemuco where our vessels had been anchored, he sent out some vessels as far as the sand-bar, to search for us, and inasmuch as he did not find us, he collected all the Chinese and others who were there and returned to the province from where he had enlisted the men, and fortified himself therein. At this time, the men who had gone to Champan to take it, and the Chief of the Camp named Ocuña de Chu, went out to join the sons of the tyrant and maneuvered to make the second son of the tyrant, named Chupinanu, king, because he was the most aggressive of them; and for this reason, the oldest son, Chupinanon, and those in his entourage, became disgusted; and in view of this, there was no peace among them. Then they departed carrying the king's pavilion with them, together with those who had come from Champan, in pursuit of Chapinaqueo, and he came to face them with many of his men, and they fought for many days, but in the end, it was his misfortune to be defeated and killed with cruelty. Thus Chupinanon remained king, whereupon, the Camp was disbanded and each one went his way back to his country.*

At this time, there arrived a vessel from Malacca bringing an envoy together with several Spaniards in search of us, accompanied by several Japanese. Chupinanon intended to kill them all outright, but considering that they came on a diplomatic mission from Malacca, he let them go. In view of the acts of cruelty he had committed among his men, the people of a large province named Tele, revolted and clamored for freedom, and proclaimed a new king. These people from Tele came to attack Chupinanon and defeated and ruined him, taking away from him a great number of elephants and artillery pieces and sacked his city. In this battle, the majority of the Spaniards and Japanese who had come from Malacca, died. Chupinanon retreated with all his brothers who numbered six, to another province, always followed by Ocuña de Chu. There they held a war council and gathered forces. They called two Malays whom the King had trusted very much, as chieftains of their groups when Chupinaqueo died and the royal pavillion was destroyed, and who had gone back to their countries where they were public authorities. In order that the foregoing may be understood, I should say who they were. When this kingdom had been destroyed by the Siamese, these people went to Champan taking with them many of their Malays and as many other Cambodians. Inasmuch as the ruler of Champan did not give *them as many honors as they wanted, they rose up against his City in his absence and rendered themselves strong therein, then sacking the City and returning to their kingdom bringing all the artillery pieces and much spoil and many captives. When they arrived here, the tyrant Anacaparan was still ruling. After congratulating each other, the latter entertained them in friendship and they surrendered to him all the artillery pieces and other things, and gave them lands from which to support themselves, making them great Mandarins. They made it easy for him to seize Champan and offered themselves to seize the king, and since he had been an old enemy of Cambodia since long ago, he gathered many people and sent over Ocuña de Chu as their chieftain. When we killed Anacaparan, they were in Champan, and in view of Anacaparan's death, they came over as already stated. When they appeared before the new king Chupinanu, with all his Malays, it was decided to go and fight the Teles rebels. At this time, the envoy who had fled from Laos, arrived just when we ourselves arrived in Lanchan, and reported that we had been there; that we were asking to take care of the legitimate King, convey him on their vessels to his own Kingdom, and that the King of Cochin-China would assist in this matter and that we had been voicing this purpose in entering Laos, and that the king there wanted to send many people by the river and overland, while we and the Cochin-Chinese were to do the same thing and join forces in Cambodia and make war together; and whosoever would not obey would be given severe punishment. When the new king and his allies heard these news, they were afraid and each desired to look after himself. After a few days, there came news from the sand-bar to the effect that four Spanish vessels had arrived with several Cochin-Chinese galleys. These news — or was it a mirage that some people saw? — or it could have been a trial balloon set up to watch reactions, — have not been explained so far. Upon being spread around, they confirmed as true everything the envoy had claimed to have happened. The Mandarins of Cambodia, considering the war they had with the Teles rebels, and the imminent trouble with the Spaniards, the Cochin-Chinese and the Laotians, now decided to depose the new King and recognize the one coming over from Laos. So they summoned the Malays and together they went to the new King and his brothers, and drove them out of the Kingdom.[1] The two elder ones fled,*

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[1] These, like the bands of mercenaries in the Middle Ages, would be the paid adventurers of the states, quite often taking possession of the country, as Sforza and others did in Italy.

each one for himself to the province where he imagined to find more friends. The Mandarins having done this, they ordered that their fleet of rowing-vessels proceed to Laos to receive its King, reported to be already coming; and Ocuña de Chu and his two sons went out for this purpose ordering the others to go to the sand-bar in their vessels, to receive the Spaniards and to be content with making friends with them. They also sent some of the Spaniards who had remained. They had disposed that two Cambodian Mandarins and the two Malayan chiefs should stay behind to attend to the Government and to guard the Kingdom. The Spaniards who went to the sand-bar found nothing and came back. Ocuña de Chu went out in the direction of Laos, and as he did not meet his king, he decided to proceed to Lanchan and demand for his person; so he proceeded on his journey amidst hardships such as hunger, having departed without provisions on such a long journey. For this reason, some of his men abandoned him. At last he arrived with ten persons armed with artillery and occasioned alarm to the entire Kingdom of Laos, which thought that he had come with intentions of waging war; the people leaving behind their towns and properties and fleeing to the mountains. However, seeing that he had come in peace, they calmed down. When he arrived there, we were already on our way to Cochin-China, and the king ordered us to return to Lanchan, owing to Ocuña's arrival. Learning of what was happening in Cambodia, the King of Laos sent there a large fleet by sea, and forces by land with the king of Cambodia, while he dispatched me to Cochin-China to report the new developments in order to take my vessel to Cambodia. Then, being on my way, I learned of the fight which our fleet had had, and I returned with the king to Cambodia. When we reached the first town of the Kingdom, we received the intelligence from our spies that had gone ahead of us, that inasmuch as the news about the arrival of the Spanish vessels did not prove to be true, and because Ocuña de Chu took a long time to return, — the provinces to which each of the brothers had repaired, had proclaimed each of them as King, and there was a war between the two brothers, and that the people from Teles who had come to fight with the ruling ones, had themselves become divided, and each one followed the leader he best liked. However Ocuña Lacsamana the head of the Malays commanded the greater power as regards artillery and prows. There were news that a Japanese junk which had been in Cochin-China, when our fleet was there, had arrived, and was on the side of Chupinanu. When this intel-

ligence was received, they joined the fleet and land-forces, and finding insufficient men with whom to maintain hostilities, they fortified themselves there and sent for more forces from Laos. In the meantime, they sent secret letters to tempt the hearts of the mighty. The people from Laos took time to arrive and there were no answers to the letters; so they did not feel themselves secure there. So they met in council to decide if they should return to Laos. At this juncture, however, news were received to the effect that Ocuña Lacsamana, Chief of the Malays, who had gone to his province to entrench himself and who had declared himself in favor of Chupinanu, was really on our side but pretended to render obedience to said king; and upon arriving would pass to our opposite camp. Then there came news of another Governor in Cambodia who said that even if he had obeyed Chupinanu, if the King would go to where he was entrenched, he would attack, dethrone or kill him, and he had four thousand men for this purpose with whom he was strong in his mountain stronghold. He sent this message through a relative of his, and everyone trusted in his word. Then we marched to his position, and when he learned that the legitimate king was with us, he attacked the usurping king and defeated him. Then he came to receive us, and thus we entered into the kingdom; upon which that province surrendered to the King, together with many other ones. Chupinanu retired to certain mountains, then the two Malayan chiefs each with his own men, arrived. Then the King ordered the pursuit of Chupinanu, and they overtook, seized and killed him. Then they also seized another brother in another province for acting as judge and also killed him. Then war commenced with the eldest brother and the Teles natives, as the latter would not obey. At this time, a vessel arrived from Malacca on which were coming fourteen Spaniards belonging to our fleet which had gone to Malacca, and the King was greatly pleased with them and heaped honors and considerations on them, as he knew they had taken part in slaying the tyrant. They were extremely loved and respected. Captain Diego Belloso wished to subject the country to obedience to him, by virtue of an old document he possessed from Malacca; but I defended them on the ground that the right to this jurisdiction had to derive from Manila, for the reason that the kingdom had been restored through orders from Manila,[1] and because these people had become Castilians, and had nothing to do with his document or with Malacca. The King who had witnessed the incident, an-

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[1] This insinuates that Cambodia already belonged to the Spaniards.

swered that he would not interfere in any matter of the king and in any controversy between the two of us. Some of those who had arrived, followed Belloso's opinion, while others followed mine; and so we have fared this way until now; for which reason, I did not ask the king for a fortress for our security, which would have been a basis for some substantial understanding,[1] *and would have prevented something which happened afterwards, as will be stated later on. As soon as they arrived, the king sent an envoy to Cochin-China with a Spaniard and a Cambodian, in search of Fr. Alonso Ximenez and some Spaniards who, according to reports, had remained there. They had been imprisoned by the Champans, and so could not return. Later, the wars followed one another, and we Spaniards and Japanese all took part in them; and whenever we attacked, we always won, thanks to God. And whenever we did not participate in any action, they always lost, so that we gained great reputation and became loved by our friends, and feared by our enemies. While we were engaged in an invasion, Ocuña de Chu who was now a Mambaray as he called himself, which is the highest office in the Kingdom, attempted to rise up against his lord, aided by one of the Malayan chieftains named Cancona. The King sent for me to be accompanied by my Spaniards, with instructions that Diego Belloso remain behind, as the two of us were chieftains and functioned as such in whatever war we took any part. I responded to his call, and he related to me how they wanted to kill him, and get his Kingdom for themselves, and asked me to devise a remedy to the situation. It was the Mambaray who ruled the Kingdom. He held the King in scant estimation because he was young and much given to liquor-drinking, while he wanted to be king himself. Finally, I and my Spaniards killed him and seized his son, and later killed him too. Then they went to seize the Malayan Cancona and killed him too, so that thanks to the Spaniards, the King became freed from this danger. Then we went to the front and I learned that still another big chief who was at the head of a province, also wanted to revolt against the King and go to the side of Chupinanu. So I had him seized and killed for said cause. For this the King loved us extremely, and the Kingdom feared us. That province became peaceful and we returned to the King. At this time, a vessel arrived from Siam on its way to Manila with an envoy on board. Fr. Pedro Custodio and some Portuguese came on it. The King was very happy with the arrival of the priest, and wanted to build a church for*

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[1] From which to conquer little by little the country and the king, excessively credulous and trusting.

him. We all joined together and continued with the fighting, and again we returned home making several provinces subject to obedience to the King. Chupinano had retreated to the mountains and the war was thereby almost finished. At this time, there came many people from Laos, headed by a relative of its king who up to now, had done nothing for the king nor had anything been heard of him in this respect. I do not know if they had come impelled by envy upon learning that we were so close to the King and the people of the Kingdom, or if they were bringing a treaty from that country. They killed a Spaniard for very little reason, and when we demanded justice from the King, he ordered their Mandarins to judge the matter. In the meantime, we sent for the Japanese who were out fighting a battle elsewhere, for the purpose of taking our revenge in the event that no justice were done to us. The Laotians who were either afraid of this or wished to kill us all, attacked our homes by night; so that they killed the priest and a few Spaniards who were sick and had come with him, and killed a few Japanese because they were angry at all of us. The rest of us escaped and took cover on the vessel of the Japanese, where we defended ourselves until our other companions would arrive.

The Laotians built a fortress and entrenched themselves well therein. They must have been six thousand strong, and they sent word to the king to the effect that they would not surrender no matter what measure of justice be meted out to them. The king was very sorry about the numerous deaths as well as about the disrespect shown to him, but in order not to offend their king, he did not consent to give us men with whom to fight them, although we asked for this several times, and if we did not attack them it was because we had no weapons for it. The king sent a report of this to Laos. We were at the time in a state of helplessness, being without any finances, without arms, and receiving no justice nor taking any revenge. We were very greatly disgusted with the king, although he always sent us his excuses and explanations, telling us that if the king of Laos would not do justice to us, he would do it himself. In view of this, he would not let them leave his kingdom. He was sending us food to eat, some clothes and arms. At this time, a vessel was being fitted to send an envoy to Malacca, and all of us wanted to go on it, but neither the king nor his mother consented that Diego Belloso or myself depart. Some joined the envoy while others returned to Siam. The rest remained with us, and from then on, the king heaped on us more presents than ever before. The Japa-

nese retired to their vessel and desisted from continuing the fighting. When the enemy learned that we were disorganized, they gathered many people, and recovered much territory without any opposition. The king requested the Laotians to go to the front since they had disturbed those who defended his land. They went to battle and lost the first encounter, and then retreated in defeat, many having died on the battlefield while others were wounded. Chupinano continued winning victories and came within sight of the king on the other side of a river. Then the king disregarded the Laotians and persuaded us and the Japanese, to return to the fight and defend him. At this juncture, we had all reorganized and supplied ourselves with arms and ammunition. Upon being besought by the king and his mothers, we went out to fight to help a beleaguered fort which Chupinano had encircled, and we won two battles, made him retreat and recovered what he had just won, and still other territory which had remained in that sector. We took a good quantity of rice from the enemy, together with supplies with which we provided the king's men who were in dire need of it, and then we assembled together. This was accomplished by my Spaniards, myself and our Japanese friends; while Diego Belloso and his men went to Teles and killed their king, and won part of the province, then retired home. At this time, there arrived a Portuguese vessel from Malacca with merchandise. In view of this, and having seen what we had achieved, the Laotians were filled with fear of us, and, without permission from the king, they departed on vessels for their country; whereupon, we appealed to the king not to let them go without doing justice to us, if he did not want to lose friendship with the Luzon and Malacca people. He replied that he dared not detain them, but if we wanted to go after them, he would secretly supply us with men whom we could use if we dared to fight the Laotians. Thus we boarded ten prows and pursued them. Since they were far ahead of us and flying in great fear, we could not overtake them for many days, for which reason, Belloso returned with some Spaniards and Japanese; but I went on ahead under great dificulties, owing to strong currents against us, and we pulled part of the prows with cable even with a few men, until we overtook many of them; and we took away from them their prows and supplies, from which we all benefited. Thus we gained much greater reputation, which we have duly preserved until the present time; and no other nationals have ever acquired a better standing in alien kingdoms than we have. We are greatly loved by the king and his men and all the natives, *and we are greatly feared by the foreigners. For this reason, we are held in great esteem by all elements in every part of the kingdom. Captain Diego Belloso and myself were given titles as Grandees, the greatest ones in the Kingdom, in order the better to be respected and feared and obeyed as well. Two provinces, the best ones, are in our names, and they will be delivered to us as soon as matters of war quiet down and Court is organized to enable the King to be sworn in, which has not yet been done. In the meanwhile, we are availing ourselves of the people whom he has assigned to us. In order to have a full hand and command in the Kingdom, there is only one intervening obstacle which is Ocuña Lacsamana, the Malayan chief who pleases the king on account of his many followers, whom the king needs for his wars. Our Spaniards have frequent encounters with his men, for which reason each side is very cautious of the other.*

I have related about these wars and other matters so often to Your Excellency, in order that you may consider if His Majesty has any right in justice and with reason, to take any part of this country, inasmuch as it was His fleet that dealt death to him who was in peaceful possession thereof,[1] *and thrust away its heir to a place where he lost all hope of ever returning to possess it;*[2] *and later, the same kingdom being conquered by His vessels who guarded the person of the king from his enemies. To expect him to voluntarily yield the Kingdom to us, will be useless because it will never happen, for the reason that he will be afraid of having many Spaniards in his land even if he loves them, for fear that they will deprive him of his Kingdom, considering that he understands that it will not be superfluous to desire for more than one already has. This is what some of our enemies insinuate, especially the Moors.*[3] *I pray and beseech Your Excellency to take part in this matter, since you can do so much for it, and that you do not let go of this land for*

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[1] This confession of Blas Ruiz judges the whole expedition. The Spaniards went there to disturb a peaceful kingdom, strongly governed by its liberator, in order to place on the throne a puppet and to take possession of his dominion.

[2] According to this, in order that a king may extend his kingdom, he need only send emissaries to the other kingdoms to kill their kings, many of whom ruled with less right than Anacaparan, who at least saved his country from foreign yoke, abandoned cowardly by her former ruler.

[3] Neither were the Spaniards the only ones who wrested the kingdom from him, and even if it were so, this did not give the right to take possession of it. One who voluntarily helps a man against a thief does not thereby acquire the right either over his life or his liberty. There is gratitude, and it was for the weak king to shower them with riches, honors, and two provinces...

which so many efforts have been made, and which has been rendered in such good condition.[1] *It is so very important to build a fortress in the mainland, as it will mark the beginning of great things, and when these things become tangible facts, and when he sees forces in this land, even if he may not be of such good will, he will do what he knows to be just. I am saying this in reference to his mother, aunt and grandmother who are the ones in favor and who rule. He does no more than what he is told to do. He is only a boy and drinks more liquor than his father did, and all he has he spends in gambling and hunting, and he pays no more attention to his Kingdom than to anything else. For this reason, if he saw the presence of many Spaniards whom no one may offend, then he will do whatever they will have him do, because as I said, he loves them; likewise the enemies will not dare to oppose him, and if by chance there will be few of our people in this country for the reason that no great contingent can be sent here, at least let a small number be sent over if possible, in company with the priests, in order not to lose this jurisdiction and consequent action in the premises; because Diego Belloso has sent to Malacca for priests, people and documents, in order that he may become an authority in this land in behalf of said country, thus delivering jurisdiction to Malacca. And inasmuch as this Kingdom has been restored through the efforts of His Majesty's Kingdom, let not Your Excellency allow this land that has been built up so well be turned over so that others may reap the fruits thereof. In the event that a few soldiers should be sent here, and that they be not feared because they are few, and they should not be supported, I shall do at this end, whatever Your Excellency may direct me to do within reasonable limits and my ability to perform. I shall manage some way until further reinforcements arrive, when they will have to yield to our rights even if against their free will. Then let aggrieved ones come with good documents, because any way the lands are extensive and they may not care to use their free-will being under no compulsion; and this could cause what happened to us with the people of Laos. The vessel bearing so that it may reach Your Excellency for the purpose of giving the King a little for nothing; because I have many enemies who would prevent it. It is natural that the native and foreign Mandarins will not like anybody in the Kingdom to command them; also because I am poor, having lived so far, off the war and its advantages which*

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[1] Weakened and exhausted and with an imbecile king!

have maintained me, considering that the king here is also very poor in view of so many wars. The Spaniard who bears this letter is a good soldier, although poor, and in order to enable him to proceed, I have helped him with my miserable means. May Your Excellency be served to help him and the Cambodian in order that said Cambodian may learn of a few of the greatnesses of His Majesty. Would that I myself were the bearer hereof, so that I could give Your Excellency a long account of these things and of other features, thereof; and of the fertility of these Kingdoms. However, neither the king nor his mother have given me leave to depart, as the bearer hereof will attest, and of other particulars; and Your Excellency may give credit to him as a man who is dispassionate in every way, and who has just come from Macan. In view of the many wars occurring here, the king does not have much to send Your Excellency. He, however, sends two ivory elephant tusks and a slave, and may Your Excellency forgive him, as next year, he will send you many things if his land becomes pacified, for the reason that now he still has something to do in it. I have advised and persuaded him to request your City for soldiers in order to finally pacify the land. His mother have by no means consented to his doing so, and I believe that the reason why they do not acquiesce, is so that they may not have to promise their lands from which to support themselves, or in order that the soldiers may not take the same from them. However, when these ladies were in Laos, they did promise to give us extensive lands. However, if what has been done is insufficient to obtain rights, then let God's mercy be. When we sent this diplomatic message, Diego Belloso and I told the king that unless he gave us the lands he promised us, we would return to Luzon, because we have no more means with which to support ourselves. Many things were said and done about this, but finally he gave them to us. It is so stated in the diplomatic message but he gave them to us on condition that we were to hold the lands while in his service and subject to his obedience. In view of this, I shall have more influence with which to serve Your Excellency and be subject to your command. During my stay in that city and in supporting my men in this Kingdom, I expended everything I owned. To do this, I took the silver that was kept in the vessel corresponding to the sailors, and even if I wanted to pay them out of the money that was found in the vessels,[1] *Gallinato did not approve of it*

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[1] Those which were taken from the Chinese "...though I paid them..."
(1) (p. 112)

but instead he himself took it. In Malacca they made me pay my men out of the money which my vessel carried, although he had consented that the expenses be paid out of the booty, since the war had been considered legitimate.[1] *For this reason, I am at present without any financial income. Thus I have nothing with which to serve Your Excellency as I should by obligation, and as I would wish to. Remembering Your Excellency's armory which is so curious, I am sending you an ivory flask and a small ivory bottle, and Your Excellency will forgive the simplicity of my gift, as I promise that next year the deficiency will be remedied. Your Excellency may have me do things for your service, and it will be a great pleasure for me, and to promote my affairs in order that with the warmth of Your Excellency's favor, they may acquire some merit. And trusting in this, may Our Lord keep Your Excellency in a better and a higher degree of success, as your humble servant would desire it to be.*

"Cambodia, twentieth day of July, fifteen hundred and ninety-eight.

Your Excellency's Servant,

BLAS RUIZ DE HERNAN
GONZALEZ"

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[1] Lord Stanley believes that it should read, "since the war was not considered a just one." We differ from his opinion and we believe that the original was not wrong but indeed its author (Blas Ruiz) was. He wanted the war to be considered just because it suited him and he established it as a principle in order to deduce from it that a part of the booty belonged to him, which he would use to pay his soldiers. The war being an unjust one, the booty was a robbery and Blas Ruiz would not have such boldness to claim his share. The strange thing here is that Gallinato had not returned to the Chinese what was theirs, having considered the pillage unjust. Perhaps certain political considerations or false sense of prestige prevented him from doing it, or who knows if it was avarice, because an act of true justice begets more friends for states and gives them more prestige than to support against all reason the misdeeds of their subjects or their generals.

In view of these news and report which arrived from Cambodia, the advantageous results derived from the stay of Diego Belloso and Blas Ruiz in that land, were realized, and Don Luis Dasmariñas became more encouraged to undertake the enterprise which he had already commenced to put into practice, and he now carried on with it with increased energy. Inasmuch as it was difficult to justify their entry into Cambodia with men-at-arms except to favor Praunkar and place him in complete possession of his Kingdom and to leave preachers with him there, he could then say to himself that having fulfilled his commitment, he would with the necessary favor of the said king of Cambodia, proceed to the neighboring Kingdom of Champan, seize the same in the name of His Majesty and eject a tyrant who had been lording it over the land, a common enemy to all those Kingdoms: From a fortress which the tyrant held close to the sea, he would swoop down on every voyager, rob and make him captive and commit many other crimes, death to and robbery of Portuguese people and other nationals who were constrained to pass by his shores, in view of their trade undertakings, also voyagers to and from China, Macao and Japan and other Kingdoms, about which many accounts had been given. In view of this situation many theologicians and jurists had held that it was right to wage war on this Champanese lord and to conquer his land; and that this vantage-point was no less strategical to the Spaniards than that of Cambodia.[1]

Governor and Presiding Justice Don Francisco Tello having consulted the *Audiencia* and some priests and captains as to what was the best course to pursue in this matter, the following resolution was passed: That inasmuch as Don Luis offered to undertake this expedition at his own expense, in the company of such people as wanted to accompany him, that this enterprise be put into execution.[1] So the agreement was made with him (Don Luis) in the above tenor and substance, i.e., of taking the men at his own expense with the commission and assurances of the Governor as to matters of State and War, and the disposition of the Royal *Audiencia,* with regard to Justice. So they began to prepare vessels and men and provisions, in order to set out as shortly as possible.

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[1] So that at bottom they would like to conquer Cambodia and the war against Champan was only a pretext, which the theologians at Manila admitted as justifiable because the king was a tyrant, *etc., etc.* Besides being advantageous this enterprise was easier perhaps because for sometime there had been friars there converting the natives and studying the kingdom.

At this same time, Governor Don Francisco Tello sent out on a medium vessel, Don Juan de Zamudio, to the great country of China, to negotiate with the viceroy of Canton, intercourse and trading with the Spaniards in his province, so that they could bring saltpeter and metals of which there was great need for the Royal warehouses of Manila. Don Juan made his journey in fair weather and once sailing on the coast of Canton, he sent a few members of his company to the City, with letters to the *Tuton* which is similar to Viceroy. The latter upon understanding the purpose of the coming of the Spaniards and their objective, listened to their plea and gave them a good reception. The Portuguese who resided in Macao near the city of Canton proper, made several representations to the Viceroy and the *Conchifu* and other Mandarins urging them not to receive the Castilians of Manila in their land, alleging that they were corsairs and evildoers who promoted uprisings in the Kingdoms and provinces where they arrived.[2] They reported so badly of them, that it would have been sufficient to ruin them if the viceroy and the Mandarins had not considered the matter dispassionately and understood the cause thereof to be the declared hatred and enmity of the Portuguese; and that they were impelled by the desire that the Castilians should not have any trade relations with China which was against the interests of the former. The matter reached such proportions that upon judgement thereof, the Portuguese of Macan were forced to silence under pain of corporal punishments,[1] while the Spaniards were assigned and given a landing-place on the same shore at a place called *El Pinal* or The Pinegrove, twelve leagues from the City of Canton, where they could always anchor and land, likewise settle and occupy, being provided with *chopas*[2] and sufficient provisions for the purpose. Provided with said license, Don Juan de Zamudio brought his vessel to the "Pine-grove" at which place he was supplied by the Chinese with everything they needed and at moderate prices. The Spaniards would come and go by the river to Canton in *lorchas* or cargo-vessels and *sampans* to transact their business. Every time that they had to come to said port, they were always received in the City within the walls and they could walk up and down the streets with freedom and bearing arms, a novel and special thing in China for foreigners; so that it aroused in the Portuguese, who had no such privilege, both surprise and envy, and they endeavored to obstruct it in every way, to the extent of bringing at night from Macan to the "Pine-grove", people in vessels to set fire to the vessel of the Spaniards, a stratagem which failed, however, because, when the latter discovered it, they offered the proper resistance and devised better means of security for their vessel, until it sailed away from there after transacting their business and attending to their errands, to the great satisfaction of the Chinese who furnished them with provisions and the necessary license for future arrivals. Don Juan arrived in Manila in the beginning of the year of Our Lord fifteen hundred and ninety-nine.

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[1] The case encountered many difficulties and great resistance from serious people of the republic, but as it did not involve any expense from the Royal Treasury, all were overcome," says Fr. Diego Aduarte in his history. So that there was also much opposition just as there was the first time; but as only the Royal Conscience would suffer and not the Royal Treasury, the opposition gave in.

[2] If any nation could have the right to accuse the Castilians of taking possession of the kingdoms which they entered undoubtedly it would not be the Portuguese. The cruelties that these committed in their colonies and in the Moluccas where they arrived as shipwrecked and were protected and were all received and then assassinated their benefactors in exchange, driving the people to horrible and fratricidal struggles in order to take possession of their territories; the poisoning, treacheries, impudent assassinations, and countless inhumanities, like salting and quartering Sultan Hair, a friendly king, noble and generous, treacherously and iniquitously assassinated while, trusting, he was visiting his executioner who feigned illness. Those deeds of civilized nations among savage peoples, were never surpassed by the Spaniards, at least in the Orient, though they also committed cruelties and infinite vexations.

After Don Luis Dasmariñas had prepared two medium vessels and a galliot with two hundred men enlisted from those who walked the streets of Manila with no occupation, and who consented to go with him in this expedition to Cambodia for his complement—duly supplied with the necessary provisions and abundant arms; accompanied by Fr. Alonso Ximenez and Fr. Diego Aduarte of the Order of St. Dominic and Fr. Juan Bautista, of the Order of St. Francis, together with some Japanese and natives of Manila,—said vessel set sail from the Bay with the fleet during the middle part of the month of July,[1] in the year ninety-eight, under somewhat unfavorable weather, as the stormy winds had began to blow. However, the eagerness to proceed with the journey and lose no time in leaving Manila—which was difficult to do under the circumstances—impelled him to disregard the inclement weather. It must have seemed to him that once in the open seas, he could sail to the port of Bolinao to disport himself.

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[1] Where they silenced by force of beatings or only by threats? The phrase is ambiguous.

[2] From *Chop*, an edict, according to Stanley.

However, the plan did not work out as well as Don Luis had thought it would, because, as soon as his fleet of three vessels had departed from the Bay, the weather had worsened and harrassed him so much that he was unable to take refuge in Bolinao, or maintain himself at sea; and the captain's vessel was beginning to take in water, the vessels returned to the mouth of the Bay near Miraveles,[2] where they remained for several days readjusting themselves. They sailed again as the bad weather had subsided, but the winds again lashed at them so that the vessels separated from each other, and the galliot which was the weakest of them, had to take refuge in the port of Cagayan, and entered the sand-bar at Camalayuga in the City of Segovia at the head of the Island of Luzon, in the frontier of China the Great, quite battered and in great distress; and the *alcalde mayor* or chief magistrate of the province furnished it with the necessary outfit and provisions. Captain Luis Ortiz who was the chief of the galliot with twenty-five Spaniards and a few natives, was in a hurry to repair his vessel and depart and overtake the rest of the fleet which according to instructions, he was to join at the sand-bar or landing in the Cambodia River, for which they were all bound. This vessel had no sooner left Cagayan, when the admiral's vessel entered the same port in the same distress which had attended the galliot and it also remained a few days to repair itself. Then it also left in search of the captain's vessel and the galliot. Being a stronger vessel, the captain's vessel ventured out to sea under difficulties, and as it took a long time to negotiate the distance, it was compelled to sail along the coast of China, but the bad weather was steady and the conditions of its voyage did not improve, and he arrived under heavy seas at the coast of China, in some small unpopulated islands below Macao, where he lay many times in danger of losing the vessel, several times lightening the load it carried. The admiral vessel after having left Cagayan duly repaired, made the same voyage in the same storm and came to land near the captain's vessel where it foundered with some persons, and none of its awnings and clothes were saved.[1] The captain's ship took in as many of the men from the admiral's vessel as were saved, and after a few days of unsteadiness it got stranded in the end near the coast, and commenced to take in so much water that as a result of it and of tremendous dashing of the waves against its sides, it broke into pieces, as it had lost for some time its launch; and since they were compelled to save the men before the vessel should break entirely, they built rafts and frames of wood and boards, which carried Don Luis, the priests and other persons up to one hundred and twenty Spaniards, saving with them the most valuable articles from aboard, together with the arms and most handy pieces of artillery from the said vessel, leaving the rest as lost. They were all so wet and forlorn that certain Chinese people from the nearby towns along the coast owing both to pity for the Spaniards' loss and in consideration of certain articles out of those they had recovered, gave them some food to eat, also a vessel of minor capacity, belonging to the people on land, on which the Spaniards left that place and went to Macao and Canton which were not distant.

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[1] According to this, they have been sailing in Manila Bay for two months, because Fr. Diego Aduarte says they left it on 17 September. (p. 211) Were not the expedition at the request of the religious, they would have seen in these impediments the hand of God, *etc., etc.* Perhaps the bonzos of Cambodia would see in them the protection of Buddha against the God of the Spaniards.

[2] The island of Corregidor which was also called Mirabilis. (*Infra*)

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[1] Fr. Diego Aduarte, who was on board the flagship but he says that from Cagayan he had to return to Manila relates succinctly how the flagship was lost, the principal cause being his absence from it. "And in truth my not going with them was the cause of their being lost." The flagship was lost because the ship that was going to preach Christianity, to serve God and King, to civilize the barbarians, and to wage war against the tyrant Champan who was engaged in piracy, was converted into a pirate ship that wanted to rob a Chinese ship. In the pursuit, it struck against some shoals. It was broken into two parts, throwing the passengers into the sea, the few who saved themselves being taken prisoners by the Chinese authorities. If we consider the vexations and miseries that the Filipino Indios had to undergo to construct these galleons; if we think of the manner how the sailors were recruited, snatching them from their homes converting them later into the monster of so many tyrannies in a wretched pirate ship to be destroyed miserably by running after an undefended prey; and if we remember that with all this was mixed the name of God to sanctify so many indignities, what a responsibility for those who thus exploit the ignorance and submissiveness of people to satisfy petty ambitions!

Don Luis and his men, upon reaching the vicinity of Macao, sent two soldiers out of his men, on Chinese vessels to the City and capital of the Portuguese, apprising them of their arrival and troubles of Don Luis and his men, in order that they might be helped; also another two soldiers, to Canton in order to seek from the Viceroy or *Tuton* his favor and help, so they might be given supplies and thus be enabled to leave China and proceed with their trip. The people of Macao and their senior captain Don Pablo de Portugal, received the Castilian soldiers so poorly that having put the two in prison, they did not let them go back to Don Luis, but sent word to them to depart from the coast. lest they be given worse treatment. Having also learned that Captain Hernando de los Rios[1] and his companion had gone to Canton for the same purpose. he immediately sent two Portuguese cabin-mates of his belonging to the same regiment, to oppose the admission of the Spaniards into China. telling the Chinese that these people were thieves and corsairs and evildoers. in the same way they did in the case of Don Juan de Zamudio. who at this instant was with his vessel at the Port of the "Pine-grove", as has hereinabove been stated.

Captain Hernando de los Rios and his companion met in Canton, Lieut. Domingo de Artacho and other companions of the vessel of Don Juan and upon learning of the misfortune happening to the fleet of Don Luis, and since it was lying nearby destroyed, they joined in defending themselves from the slander and charges of the Portuguese. Therefore, since all difficulties had been overcome in the case and incident involving Don Juan Zamudio,—the Viceroy and Mandarins learned that all the Spaniards were from Manila, and as to who Don Luis Dasmariñas was, and since the latter was going to Cambodia with his fleet, they received him with the same good-will with which they had received Don Juan de Zamudio; and so they gave Don Luis leave to enter the latter's camp with him in the Port of *El Pinal.* Here the two came together and extremely lamented the loss sustained by Don Lius Dasmariñas who was very glad to have met Don Juan de Zamudio with his men, and the latter provided them with a few things they needed. With his help, Don Luis then bought a strong medium-sized junk which he boarded with some of his men, artillery and wearing-apparel which had been left, and there he enjoyed the same comfort that the Castilians enjoyed in the vessel of Don Juan Zamudio, in the port, and stated his intention of remaining there until they should send some vessels and other things they should deem fit to send from Manila, upon proper advise there to said effect. And from there they would proceed with their expedition to Cambodia, of which undertaking Don Luis never wished to show signs of discouragement or abandonment.

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[1] This was the one who later became a religious, and sent as the representative of the Philippines to the King, wrote the work, *Memorial y Relación para S. M.*, Madrid 1621. (Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris) wherein he exposes abuses and cruelties. Thévenot publishes an abriged translation of the work.

Don Juan de Zamudio left the port of Pine-grove, leaving Don Luis Dasmariñas behind with his men, in the early part of the year ninety-nine: and within twelve days he reached Manila. After Don Juan left, Don Luis sent Lieut. Francisco Rodriguez with three companions on a smaller sampan to Manila, seeking from the Governor and his patrons, help and remedy in this great emergency, likewise a vessel and all necessary things with which to proceed with the expedition which he had originally departed from Manila to undertake. Don Francisco Tello having learned from the reports of Don Juan de Zamudio and Lieut. Francisco Rodriguez, who arrived in Manila just after Don Juan did, of the loss which the latter Don Luis Dasmariñas had suffered, and his present plight, and realizing that he could not go ahead with the expedition to Cambodia, and that there was not available either wealth or finances with which to build up a fleet again, and not even time to do so, he bought for him a medium-sized vessel and sent the same to him through Lieut. Francisco Rodriguez and a few soldiers to accompany him, of whom he returned to "*El Pinal*" as their captain and chief, carrying with them some supplies and other things, all sent from Manila *to "El Pinal*" with an order from Don Francisco Tello to Don Luis Dasmariñas to the effect that he forthwith embark thereon with his men and return to the Philippine Islands, without mentioning anything about the expedition to Cambodia, or any other matter.

Captain Hernando de los Rios who attended in Canton to all the business of Don Luis at this time, wrote to Doctor Antonio de Morga a letter which in order the better to understand what happened there, is quoted as follows, word for word:

> *"FERNANDO DE LOS RIOS CORONEL — TO DOCTOR ANTONIO DE MORGA, OF HIS MAJESTY'S COUNCIL AND HIS ASSOCIATE JUSTICE IN THE REAL AUDIENCIA, AND CHANCELLOR OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS IN MANILA, WHOM GOD PROTECT!*
>
> *"The difficulties which we have experienced have been so numerous within the time since we departed from that City, that if I had to relate all to Your Excellency, it would only tire you, especially considering the short time left to do it, until Don Juan leaves, does not allow it. Inasmuch as he will relate everything in fullness, I will relate only what happened to us after we arrived in the land, because Our Lord was served in accomplishing our intentions which were to await in Bolinao until the aggravating weather we had should subside and as the port was still in sight the storm struck us so, that it placed us in great danger, and we were compelled to come to the Kingdom of China where we thought that the Portuguese would at least allow us to repair our vessel, and since it was our Lord's will that we should lose it, and we suffered many hardships because hardly anything was saved, and I lost all my possessions and a part of that of my fellow-men; because the previous day, my General had sent me to look for water together with a coast pilot at a certain place, and could not determine exactly where we were, for the reason that the sketch we brought with this letter*

was an awful one, and I was unable to return to the vessel owing to the bad weather which developed. For this reason, I was constrained to go to Canton where the Sangleys or Chinese who conducted me and those who landed with me, rose against us, and accused us of having killed three Chinamen; and had we not met Lieut. Domingo de Artacho and Marcos de la Cueva who were quarreling with the Portuguese, we would have fared very badly.[1] *God willed to favor us with settling*

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[1] Fr. Diego Aduarte's share of the misfortune was not slight if we are to believe his works. He was one of the companions of Hernando de los Ríos. There are gaps and contradictions in the work of this pleasant historian which lessen the value of his work, written nevertheless in picturesque style, full of charm and animation. An example: He says that the expedition of Mr. Luis sunk on the day of St. Francis (4 October). On that date he returned from Cagayan to Manila where he sailed on 6 September (!) to help Mr. Luis who was at Macao, after four months, all this happening in the same year (1598), inasmuch as this priest formed part of the commission charged with asking for permission from the Tutón to return to Manila, a commission that was formed in the said year. Passing over the respect that the bishop deserves from us, on encountering these contradictions—not rare among historians of the Philippines—we may be allowed to make our conjectures in search of the truth.

Morga, who always mentions the steps taken by the friars, does not speak of the coming of Fr. Aduarte from Cagayan to Manila but insinuates further that he never separated from the expedition, not wanting to return to Manila afterwards, without giving the reason for it. Neither do we understand why his prelate would send him to Manila and abandon his companions on the flagship, depriving them of religious aid, an unthinkable thing in those times when a chaplain always accompanied even only two military men to give them the blessing in case of need. What here, it seems to us, happened was that, desiring to evade the responsibility for the loss of the flagship that engaged in piracy, he made himself absent, as he did also in the massacre of the Chinese in Cambodia, but finding himself after the shipwreck beside Mr. Luis at Macao and sent by him to Canton, he had to reform the calendar a little to change the time, which is less prejudicial to society than the loss of prestige of a religious, the pillar and support of the government, representative of God, etc., etc., and above all if the religious later becomes a bishop. Perhaps this would explain the torments to which the viceroy of Canton subjected the shipwrcked from the flagship for having engaged in piracy and they were taken from one judge to another, as Fr. Aduarte himself asserts. The willingness with which the same priest satisfied the demands of the viceroy, which Hernando de los Ríos confirms,—the payment of the fine and renunciation of any future claim against the violence of the viceroy—makes one suspect that Fr. Aduarte recognizes his guilt with respect to the Chinese authorities. The imprisonment, the fine of one thousand ducats, the tortures and the humiliations to which he was subjected—no innocent Spaniards would ever suffer these without demanding or taking reprisals and less a friar who did not want at the beginning to humble himself by making obeisance to the viceroy such as his two military companions did. The reason he gives us for his resignation was puerile: He says that he submitted in order to redeem three Chinese soldiers, imprisoned only to frighten him, as he himself confesses. The one who approved the massacre of the Chinese at Cambodia, who took pride in having killed Anacaparan, justifying all that was committed in that kingdom, would not submit to such demands to save three Chinese from the hands of the Chinese authorities themselves, knowing that it was pure comedy. We suspect that the condescension then of Mr. Luis and of his companions *our quarrel even without proof-taking or receiving new confessions, so that we were not condemned to pay fifty taels of silver. There we learned how our people had defended themselves from the Portuguese for one and one half months, who had attributed to us being robbers and troublemakers who promoted uprisings against the kingdoms which they entered, besides other things too ugly to mention. All their negotiations with the Chinese whether good or bad or very bad did not succeed, but at last through good-dealing and much silver, the Spaniards succeeded in obtaining what they had not expected, that is, the right to have an open port, to come always with safety, with certain quarters in Canton, a thing which the Portuguese had never obtained although they were more daring, and they were compelled to keep the peace. However, this did not prevent — according as I was told by the Chinese — them from trying through other means to do us as much harm as they could. The Portuguese hate the name Spaniard so much, that it cannot be conceived properly, and it must be experienced actually to comprehend it. They have represented us to be entirely bad as Don Juan will be able to explain. You may imagine from this: Our General had written them that he was lost and washed out at sea and dying of hunger amidst Infidels, running such great risks; he, who had not come to trade but in the service of His Majesty; and the reward they (the Portuguese) gave him was to seize his messengers who are now still in prison. And lastly once in this port, suffering hardships and danger as Don Juan may confirm, the Portuguese being our neighbors, not*

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in paying the fine and buying with gold the permission of the viceroy to return to Manila did not happen.

This disaster moreover was known in Manila only toward the beginning of 1599 through Mr. Juan de Zamudio. Immediately a ship that was bought was sent over to bring them to Manila. How then could the Dominicans know it five months before the shipwreck? How, moreover, could Fr. Aduarte prepare a ship to help Mr. Luis, as he claims, without the participation of the Government, when later he found it impossible to pay himself a fine of one thousand ducats, having to get the sum from Mr. Luis? On this matter then Morga, as lieutenant general and as a person who was not interested or involved in this hapless expedition, deserves more our credence than Fr. Aduarte, despite his mitre, because Morga was a faithful historian of what happened in his time, and if he covers up many things for political reasons that are easily understood, on the other hand, he never disfigures the events.

Owing to these gaps perhaps, Fr. Aduarte has not yet been canonized despite the fact, according to his biographer Fr. Domingo Gonzales, he used old and patched shoes and "though the cathedral where he was buried was small, it was very clear for having so many lights below, the top being like red-hot coal, which was seen only by the religious." A very wonderful thing, says the biographer, besides the infinite marvel of his beard having grown in the coffin. We have saints with less beard and better shoes.

only allowed us to suffer,— and if there are among them those who have good intentions,— they are forbidden to communicate with us, or to give us anything, rendering them liable to temporal and spiritual punishment. It is enough to exhaust one's patience to consider this cruelty seriously especially myself who has experienced so much and suffered so much! May God in His mercy, furnish us with a remedy to this situation, because these Infidels are the people whose natural intelligence has been mostly impaired, among all people on earth. To deal with them one has to be an angel and not a mortal. There are historians who have chronicled these events here but I shall not remain silent in this, and will say thus so that it may be understood what kind of country we are now in, which is the Kingdom of Satan, and where it seems that he rules with all his power and it seems that every Christian here is influenced by his power, there being no evil or fraud which he does not endeavor to practice. Although the Government, viewed from outside seems to be in order, considering its conservativeness, still where the practice has been experienced, it has all the traces of the Devil. Although here they do not steal from or rob the foreigner in public, they do it in other worse fashions. Don Juan has labored much and he deserves gratitude. However, he has done — according to the Portuguese — something which only the Devil or himself could have done. While it is true that it has cost him, as I understand, about seven thousand pesos plus the danger he had to risk to send his vessel here, they tried to burn him and his vessel, although all their attempts resulted fruitless. There are no words to describe how the Portuguese hate our ever coming out here to trade, owing to the harm we do them, although the truth is that if the matter were well considered, it is they who should be benefited. They can dump a thousand things they own, especially the indigent, by selling things they have, and those they obtained from India, for which a good price is always paid. As regards the increase of prices of merchandise, once the trading is established and the Chinese realize the importance of attending the trading every year, more goods would be brought to the market considering that Canton has such an abundance of everything that there is stock for everybody, as has been actually observed. I can vouch for the fact that if they wish to load a vessel full of a single commodity, be it needless or anything, they can do so. The merchandise they purchase mostly are not the ones which we need to buy. The most abundant item being now sold is raw silk. This is how I figure out the needs of your City in *view of the situation which is apparent to me. In the first place, if you in that end should send a vessel here with sufficient capacity to load the value of the largest order of your City, we would be able to purchase the largest amount of goods for the least prices and a better quality of commodity, choosing the best items which involve greatest profits. After all, we could save much out of what these blood-sucking people demand of us, and that is good enough.*

In the second place, that City would be supplied with everything it needs because anything which may be desired to have may be gotten here in Canton.

In the third place, we could by this method, prevent the enormous trade done by the Chinese in that City, which, as Your Excellency knows, is quite injurious, even to an extent of which we are not aware. They are people, who, the more we exclude from that City, the better for us in everyway. Thus it will be unnecessary to have there an excess of people we want for the service of the commonweal. Thus our supplies would not become expensive nor would they (the Portuguese) covet what is left in the land, as they now do, besides preventing very pernicious practices and sins on the natives whom they flog. While this matter would seem difficult to take up, and to appease the Portuguese, still I believe it should be done once for all.

In the fourth place, the merchandise purchased here leaves so as to reach your City on Christmas and each one takes his share home and keeps it there, prepares it and puts it in order, so that even if the Castilian vessels should come early, there is no harm done like at present, when, if the goods come before the arrival of the vessel, the prices of the commodities rise one hundred per cent.

In the fifth place, the vessels could easily be loaded during the whole month of May and advantage taken of the early winds which sometimes begin in the middle of June or earlier, and if they leave at that time, they will travel with less danger and will reach New Spain after over one month or even two months' time, in which case they can leave there by January and arrive here by April without any danger at all, otherwise, they will come late and be harrassed by the winds between the Islands, as we very well know.

In the sixth place, at the time of the purchase, there could be avoided several difficulties such as Your Excellency knows; and it would be less inconvenient for the *neighbors. Likewise, regarding the loading and distribution of the same, it is true that this could be done with greater order and it would be easy to determine to what parties the merchandise is to be given; and it would be better managed if Mexican or the companies' capital is allowed to be mostly used. By strictly avoiding this would be sufficient to let Manila prosper in a short time, because, if only the neighbors should send their capital for investment, it is a fact that the potential of the money of the Mexicans would be the one to prevail over that which could be corresponding your City, I mean Manila, if the former were restrained from investing in your City. If less merchandise should be sent from here, and there being more purchasers out there, the goods would be worth double. This is easy to see and if Your Excellencies have begun to devise a remedy for this, and if you strictly keep it up, your City will prosper greatly because, by not sending to New Spain any merchandise other than that of the people from Your City, mostly purchased in this country, it would produce all the prosperity which could be desired. And if we realize the benefits which His Majesty would be throwing our way, we would appreciate it more than anything else. But I am afraid that we will have to miss and regret it, if they will unfortunately deny us this favor. It could be said by anyone in contradiction to my claim that His Majesty would be deprived of his export tax or duty which the Chinese now pay and the tribute they give, but everything has its own remedy. With the freight charges alone, His Majesty would save considerably also by buying supplies, munitions and other things which are needed in the maintenance of that country which are half cheaper and more abundant here, instead of dealing with people who take the merchandise when they please and sometimes deprive us of them as they do every year; and they compel us to go out and get the same for them. Referring to the matter of tribute, I believe that His Majesty would be better served if the Chinese did not come at all than to collect tribute. Furthermore, Our Master could order that the door be opened here (China) for the preaching of the Gospel and conversion of the people, which His Majesty desires so much and is the principal object he aspires to be accomplished. After all, everything has to begin somewhere and make its own way gradually, even if today the way seems to be closed. To expect the Portuguese to do this work would be an uncertain expectation because they have settled on this land for so long already and have not even attempted to do anything along this line; and even the Chinese are saying it; that they have started from nothing as we did, and at first they came and departed, then two sick ones remained, and next year they* *built four houses and they they kept on expanding. I know that there is no difficulty in doing the same thing other than that offered by them. Referring to their contradictory behavior, it is a matter of concern to me, as they not only regret our coming here but also our plan to go to Cambodia and to Siam. They claim that these are within their jurisdiction, and I do not understand why they make this claim because the contrary is true; except that in view of our neglect we have allowed them to interfere with our possessions near the Straits of Malacca which are included within the territory awarded to the Crown of Castile, as I would give them to understand if the chance were to present itself. This matter can be verified from the History of the Indies, under Chapter one hundred and two before and after this portion, where, upon their petition, His Holiness set the said line starting from three hundred sevently leagues, toward the West of Caboverde Islands which used to be called the Esperic Islands; and the one hundred and eighty degrees longitude corresponding to them, terminate and end as I stated, near said Strait,*[1] *and all the rest correspond to us, especially as we belong to a King. Why is it tolerated that all our trade undertakings are forbidden? Why do they forbid us the Moluccas, Siam, Cambodia, Cochin-china, China and all the rest of this Archipelago? And what should we do if they went to carry off everything? Certainly, this goes much beyond reason! I have written at length in order to express my feelings. I shall not relate to Your Excellency about the fertility and quality of the land and its greatness, until we leave here and then I shall do so in full, these things having been duly outlined, as nothing has been placed within reason.*

"This is the best coast among the discovered lands and more adaptable to landing of galleys. If God should order our people to come here, I have already set my eyes on the spot where the king keeps his treasure.[2] *The land is very rich and the City of Canton is very abundant even if there is not much to say in the matter of buildings, because it has very few ones worth mentioning, according as I was informed by a certain Chinaman, Teatino, with whom I enjoyed conversing even if for a single evening. He was a man of good intelligence and apearance and a student, according to reports. He told*

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[1] This is inexact. See note 4 on page 2.

[2] Morga would not have published this letter had he lived in our century.

me that in Paquien[1] where the King lives, and in Lanquien[2] the Fathers of the Society of Jesus own three houses, already in the peaceful possession of seven priests one of whom is Father Riccio,[3] companion of Father Ruggieri who had gone to Rome. He is a great mathematician who has contained many errors and false opinions, also in making a globe which they considered to be flat. He made for them a Globe and Sphere. For this reason, and in view of the good arguments and explanations they gave them, they considered them as people coming from Heaven. They report that there is a great disposition to be converted if there were priests; and there the foreigners do not cause surprise as they do here. They say that people are very simple and reasonable, and yet others call the people here barbarians. They say that Lanquien is on the same latitude as Toledo, which is thirty and two thirds[4] degrees North, and from there to Paquien, it takes twenty-five days' travel which must represent more than fifty degrees.[5] This brother comes every year in view of the stipend given him by the people here, to serve in these three houses. They are now awaiting a great friend of his who is to be the King's right-hand man. This counttry is full of waterways and that is why there is an abundance of everything, because the merchandise is brought down through the rivers; so that there is no need to lead any commodities on beasts of burden, which fact is the beauty of it. He who has to depict China without having seen it, must draw a land full of rivers and means of communication leaving not a single square foot of idle soil. I would like to write slower in order to say a few words regarding things I have noticed and informed myself well about, and may God be served, if I be the bearer or messenger. The affairs on Cambodia are going fine, and we would arrive there in time, if our Lord were served, and we are making out well here. The king sent a vessel here at the end of August to your City to ask for help, and I don't know if it arrived or returned back as it had left pretty late. Blas Ruiz was sending fifty piculs of Camanguian. The king has made him a

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[1] Peking.

[2] Nanking.

[3] Undoubtedly the noted Fr. Mateo Ricci, called by the Chinese Li-Ma-Teou and Si-Thai, born in Macerata, 1552, died in Peking, 1610. He was one o fthe greatest Sinologists that Europe had, having written many works in Chinese, very much esteemed and appreciated by the Chinese themselves. He was the one who did most to spread Christianity in the Celestial Empire for his tolerance and his subtle diplomacy, settling disputes by numerous methods that cannot be openly combatted, which excited the anger of the Dominicans thus giving rise to controversies so little Christian-like as they were dogmatic. He was a companion of the renowned Fr. Alessandro Valignani.

[4] Rather 39°52'. Nanking is at 32.

[5] Peking is at 39°58'.

> *grant—we have been told of nine thousand vassals and a similar one to Belloso.*
>
> *"We now find ourselves facing a great need which Señor Don Juan Zamudio will mention to you. I urge Your Excellency to aid us, as it is a very important matter; and I repeatedly kiss the hands of Milady, Doña Juana, and may Our Lord keep Your Excellency for many years in prosperity and comfort, which is the ardent desire of your servant from the Port of* "El Pinal," *frozen by cold, on this twenty-third day of December, in the year of our Lord, ninety-eight.*
>
> *"If my brother should arrive before I reach there, I pray Your Excellency to whom it is so proper to do good to all, particularly to those from our land, to take care of him as Your Excellency has ever done of me.*
>
> *FERNANDO DE LOS RIOS CORONEL"*

After the departure of Don Juan de Zamudio from *El Pinal*, where Don Luis Dasmariñas remained with his junk, awaiting the help which he had requisitioned from Manila, through Don Juan and Lieut. Francisco Rodriguez, and it having appeared to him that too many days had elapsed and no answer was forthcoming; and inasmuch as his men were suffering from many necessities and cold, he endeavored to venture out to sea on the junk to return to Manila; but the weather did not allow him to do so, neither was their vessel sufficient for all the men he had under his command, in making the voyage. So he just marked time near the Port, when the Portuguese of Macao again annoyed him with warnings and requirements to leave the coast soon, threatening him with the seizure of his person and men, and to send his command to India where they would be punished severely. Don Luis always replied to them that his coming had not been motivated by a desire to injure or offend them in anyway, but by his duty and service to God and His Majesty in the Kingdom of Cambodia, alleging that he had been deviated from his course and had suffered many hardships mostly and the greatest of which had been caused by the Portuguese of Macan who are vassals of His Majesty and that he was awaiting assistance from Manila to enable him to return there. He prayed the Portuguese to help and favor them and release the two Castilians who had been imprisoned by them. He warned them that if after all of these explanations they still intended to do him any offense or harm, he would defend himself as best he could, and was now protesting to them against the evil which would thereby ensue, and that he would attribute all of it to the Portuguese. From then on, Don Luis Dasmariñas protected himself in his vessel with his arms always ready, his artillery ever loaded, all being alert, day and night. And he was not mistaken in doing this, because those in Macan had decided to go out to and seize him. With this purpose in view, the Portuguese senior captain came one day on a small vessel, accompanied by other vessels and men armed with javelins, hand-guns and small artillery—believing the Castilians to be unguarded—in order to attack Don Luis Dasmariñas, who, being suspicious that something of the sort would happen, was holding his own weapons; and having noticed that the Portuguese fleet was attacking him, commenced to fire with his muskets and arquebuses and some artillery pieces so suddenly, that he caused considerable injury to his enemies and to the vessel on which the senior captain stood, killing one page who was behind the captain, and other persons as well; whereupon the enemy turned back with their vessels but then stopped, having been misled by Don Luis, who would not pursue them but instead watched carefully. They did not dare to attack again and returned to Macan, while Don Luis entered the Port of *El Pinal* where he judged he would be more secure. Then Captain Francisco Rodriguez arrived with the vessel which he brought from Manila, joined Don Luis, and after dividing his men among the two vessels, he went to trade in the very City of Macao with the merchandise which he had brought from Manila; the very commodities which the Portuguese were buying and selling, although with great care and respect for the authorities. After that they sailed toward Manila having left behind some persons who died of illness, among them Fr. Alonso Ximenez who had been the principal promoter of the undertaking. His companion Fr. Diego Aduarte, would not return to Manila but went to Macao and then to

Goa, from where he proceeded to Spain.[1] Don Luis arrived in Manila with the two vessels. Thus the proposed journey of Don Luis to Cambodia was left in this uncertain state, as well as the mere discussion of said enterprise on his part.

It has already been stated that the galliot, one of the vessels in the fleet of Don Luis Dasmariñas on board which were going Luis Ortiz with twenty-five Spaniards, after having arrived in Cagayan and repaired itself there, departed again under reasonable weather conditions in search of the fleet. This vessel even if not seaworthy enough to meet storms at sea, was able—God permitting—to surmount the hardships it encountered without losing itself; making its voyage along the coast of Cochin-china and Champan, within the shoals of Aynao managed to reach the sand-bar of Cambodia, and expecting to find inland, some if not all, of the vessels of the fleet, proceeded upstream to the City of Chordemuco, where they met Diego Belloso and Blas Ruiz de Hernan Gonzalez, together with a few Castilians who had gathered together, and other Portuguese who had come through Malacca, with whose aid they had won many battles in favor of Praunkar, the King who had been restored to his throne, although some of his provinces had not yet been pacified. There he learned that neither Don Luis Dasmariñas nor any member of his fleet had arrived as yet in Cambodia while they were assuring that Don Luis was coming in person with a strong fleet with numerous men, abundant arms and a few priests which the Kingdom had been desiring for a long time, and that all this was to arrive forthwith; and that this galliot and men belonged to said fleet. Blas Ruiz and his Castilian companions were greatly pleased with such welcome news, thinking that everything was becoming better and better. They figured that time, and according as matters were taking shape, their efforts would end and they would achieve the purposes for which they were striving. On the other hand, Diego Belloso and his men were not so contented even if they did not show discomfiture, for the reason that they preferred the happy conclusion of this expedition and its corresponding reward in favor of the Portuguese and the Government of India, on which matter they had frequent controversies and encounters with Blas Ruiz. Since they saw the situation to be thus, in the course of time they adapted themselves to the prevailing conditions, and all joined together, both Portuguese and Spaniards, and told Praunkar and his Mandarins of the coming of Lieut. Luis Ortiz and his companions on the galliot; stating that they formed part of a good fleet which would soon arrive with Don Luis Dasmariñas in person together with priests and men to help and serve the King, in accordance with what he had requested from Manila a few months ago. The king evinced satisfaction and likewise certain Mandarins who liked the Spaniards and knew the benefits they had so far received from them, assuming that all would turn out as it had been told to them. However, the mother-in-law of the king and other Mandarins who shared the power with her, particularly the Malayan Moor, Ocuña Lacsamana, were displeased with the arrival of the Spaniards as it seemed to them that so many brave and daring men whom they knew so well would in the end lord it over the land, or at least would get lion's share, so that they preferred to deal directly with King Praunkar. So they looked askance at whatsoever the Spaniards were doing: while on the contrary, Praunkar looked very pleased. He had the Spaniards duly accommodated, and their vessel berthed near the City were Blas Ruiz and Diego Belloso had their own.

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[1] Remember what we said on pages 118 and 123 in speaking about the loss of the flagship on board which was Fr. Aduarte.

Before Don Luis Dasmariñas had departed from Manila with his fleet, Captain Juan de Mendoza Gamboa managed to obtain from Governor Don Francisco Tello, permission to proceed to the Kingdom of Siam on a medium-sized vessel to do some trading, and asked to be given by the Governor, the better to insure success of his voyage and clearance for his vessel, certain letters for the King of Siam to accredit him as an ambassador and messenger, for the purpose of continuing peace, friendship and trade in the same manner that Juan Tello de Aguirre had done the previous year in Siam. In order to bolster better his purpose and considering that Don Luis Dasmariñas now on his way to Cambodia, had left in Manila certain ammunition and other supplies convenient to his fleet on another occasion, he proposed to load them on his vessel, stating that he would call at Cambodia where he expected to find Don Luis Dasmariñas, and deliver the same to him. These plans seemed good to the Governor and he gave him the necessary papers; and so Captain Juan Mendoza de Gamboa left Manila on his vessel, taking with him as pilot, Juan Martinez de Chave, who had served under Juan Tello who had gone to Siam, also certain seamen companions including natives of the country, bearing a supply of currency-cowries (*siguei*[1]) and other valuables, the ammunition and supplies to be delivered to Don Luis. There went with him, Fr. Juan Maldonado, a grave and learned person who was sent by his Order to accompany him, being a close friend of Don Luis, a companion and some priests of the Order of St. Dominic. They had departed from Manila without knowing of the loss suffered by Don Luis[2] two months after he had sailed, and crossing the shoals near China, they arrived shortly at the sand-bar of Cambodia and went upstream to the royal court where they found the galliot of the fleet, and there learned of the non-arrival of the rest of the fleet. They were well received by the King and given lodging at the quarters of Diego Belloso, Blas Ruiz, Luis Ortiz and companions, were duly entertained. They did not allow Juan de Mendoza to leave Cambodia with his vessel, before hearing from Don Luis Dasmariñas, who, a few days later according to information from Chinese vessels and another sources, had arrived in China, suffering great hardships and was in great need of assistance having been held there for repairs of his vessel before resuming his voyage. While they greatly regretted it, they hoped that he would arrive presently in Cambodia with the vessels of his fleet.

At this same time, a person of mixed Portuguese and Japanese blood residing in Japan, named Govea, who owned a junk in the Port of Nagasaki, gathered together persons of mixed blood, Japanese and Portuguese, for the purpose of adventuring along the coasts of China,

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[1] Sigay (cyprea moneta), used as money in Siam.

[2] Another lie of Fr. Aduarte who, in order to explain his presence in China, relates that he was sent immediately to aid Mr. Luis.

Champan and Cambodia, to rescue and particularly to capture whatever offered itself to them at sea. On board his vessel there came a Castilian named Don Antonio Malaver, who had been left behind in Nagasaki since the loss of the "*San Felipe*", who had been bound for New Spain in the year ninety-six, a soldier of Italy who had journeyed from New Spain to the Philippine Islands, as captain and sergeant-major of the fighting-forces, whom Doctor Antonio de Morga had taken with him on that year in his fleet from New Spain to Manila. Don Antonio Malaver who had not wished to return to the Philippine Islands, having figured that by taking this route he would get to India and then to Spain, and that on the way he would partake in the evil gains of said voyage, he sailed with Govea and his men, and having travelled along the coast and learning about the entry of the Spaniards into the Cambodia River, where they were certain to find Spaniards and conditions of expectancy which might greatly affect that kingdom and offer better opportunities than at sea, he persuaded Govea to enter the said River. Upon entering Chordemuco, they joined the Castilians and Portuguese and were received as prospective soldiers and followers. Inasmuch as all of them and they were numerous—noticed the delay of Don Luis Dasmariñas, and making Fr. Juan Maldonado and Diego Belloso and Blas Ruiz their mouthpieces, they began on their own account[1] to lead with King Praunkar regarding their employment and living facilities, requesting that they be given lands and rice with which to maintain themselves, and other promised things—because they were not yet benefitted by the property given to Belloso and Blas Ruiz. The king gave them good hopes of everything, but he never fulfilled anything,[2] the mother-in-law and Mandarins obstructing the king's liberality, and wishing that they would quit the kingdom; and with every day's delay in the arrival of Don Luis Dasmariñas, they became more encouraged. Thus the Spaniards employed much time going back and forth from their lodgings to the City, negotiating with the king, and sometimes they came back contented with the king's answer, but sometimes they were not so satisfied.

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[1] They do well in saying "separately" because this was not the proposed object of the expedition of Juan Mendoza de Gamboa in which Fr. Juan de Maldonado was. It is surprising, however, that this serious and learned priest had joined these adventurers and pirates in taking this step that Lord Stanley finds very natural, considering the precedence of Fr. Alonso Ximenez and companions, who forged a letter of the governor of Manila.

[2] That is to say, these two captains were not satisfied with two large provinces and 1,800 vassals in compensation for their projects of spoliation and their treacherous behavior. Just Providence punished such immeasurable avarice with the destruction of all the members of the expedition.

Ocuña Lacsamana and his Malayans had their lodgings near those of the Spaniards. As the former were Moors who had opposite laws and purposes, neither the ones nor the others enjoyed good neighborly relations. On one occasion, there was trouble between the Spaniards and the Malayans, and there were casualties on both sides, with some coming out badly wounded, among them being Lieut. Luis Ortiz, chief of the galliot, whose two legs were pierced through, with great danger to him. Although King Praunkar showed deep regret over the incident, he did not dare to punish or remedy these injuries. Conditions having become worsened, and the Malayans being very angry against the Spaniards, on a certain day when Fr. Juan Maldonado, Diego Belloso and Blas Ruiz had gone out to the City, leaving Luis Villafane in charge of quarters in lieu of Luis Ortiz who had become impaired in view of his wounds and illness, there occurred in the lodgings another trouble with the Malayans, when Luis de Villafane who desired to avail himself of the chance, decided together with some Spaniards who followed him, to join with Govea and his men, in order to assault the Malayans and their quarters, and to seize their clothes and loot the place; and impelled more by greed than by anger, they set their plan into execution and killed several Malayans, taking away all their clothing, and entrenching themselves in their own quarters and in the vessel of the Japanese Govea. The king and his Mandarins greatly regretted the incident, and no less Fr. Juan Maldonado, Belloso and Blas Ruiz, who at the time were in Chordemuco; but much more did Ocuña Lacsamana resent it; as he saw the damage and insult to his person, the violation of the peace which had hardly been established after the past incidents. Fr. Juan Maldonado, Belloso and Blas Ruiz went immediately to both quarters to mend the trouble, but they found the place so roughtened up that not even King Phraunkar who wished to intervene, could settle the imbroglio. He advised the Spaniards to guard their persons because he saw that their cause had been lost; and that they were in great danger, without his being able to appease the wronged ones. Fr. Juan Maldonado and his companion, although they offered resistance to the trouble, together with Diego Belloso and Blas Ruiz, sought protection in the vessel of Juan de Mendoza for better security, and some Spaniards did exactly the same thing. Diego Belloso and others, together with Blas Ruiz, relying on their friendship with the king and their services rendered to the land, remained on land but acting with the greatest caution, and asking for bodyguards for themselves.

The Malayan Lacsamana with his men and the Mandarins who were in his favor, notwithstanding the fact that the king's mother-in-law had turned her back on him, did not lose either time or the opportunity which he now had. With a single fell swoop by land and sea, he attacked the Spaniards, Portuguese and Japanese and finding them divided, and notwithstanding the slight resistence offered by some of them,—finished them all, including Diego Belloso and Blas Ruiz de Hernan Gonzales, burned their quarters and vessels,[1] except that of Juan de Mendoza who, upon realizing the danger, went down-stream and then turned to the sea and defended himself against some prows which were pursuing his vessel, which carried Fr. Juan Maldonado and his companion and a few Spaniards. On land, only a priest of the Order of St. Francis, with five natives of Manila and a Castilian named Juan Diaz, remained alive. King Praunkar, who had greatly lamented the death of the Spaniards, had carefully helped these men to hide in the fields. Against the advise of the king to the friar not to appear in public until the Malayan should be appeased, the friar, believing he could escape the Malayan's fury, went out with *indio* natives to flee the kingdom, but they were found and killed with the rest; so that only Juan Diaz and three *indio* natives remained for many days in their hideout, on whom the king had turned his back until after several other events had happened, when they were able to come out of hiding. In view of all this, the cause of the Spaniards in Cambodia, was through, and their reputation was as low as the mire, so that the Malayan Moor and his supporters became the sole masters of the whole country and handled all the affairs of the kingdom without as much as showing a little respect to the king, until subsequently,—they killed him too.[1] The people again rose up in rebellion, each taking for himself whatever he could; thus plunging the land into confusion and greater chaos than in former times.[2]

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[1] This catastrophe makes us doubt that Blas Ruiz asserts that the restoration to the throne of Parunkar was due to Castilian effort rdather than to any other thing. Perhaps the Malay had also contributed much, because the forces at his command must not be discounted inasmuch as with them he had easily defeated the Europeans much more numerous now and prepared, which would not have happened if Blas Ruiz and Diego Belloso were some Rolands as they depicted themselves.

The penal colony of the Spaniards which remained in Caldera Bay when Juan Ronquillo broke his camp on the Mindanao River, was placed under the charge of Captain Villagra, owing to the death of Captain Juan Pacho of Jolo, and it suffered a dearth of supplies, because neither the people of the River could provide them to the Spaniards, nor the Moros of Jolo would suply them, for the reason that war existed between them. Thus they petitioned Governor Francisco Tello to help said penal colony with provisions, soldiers and ammunition, or direct them to return to Manila, which was exactly what they desired, because there they had no other course except to suffer hunger and be enclosed in said fortress without having any place in which to make a living. Considering the petition made to him, the Governor, at a time when the Royal exchequer was so depleted to supply the said penal colony and maintain it, which constituted the reason for the delay in sending a punitive expedition against the Sulu Moros for their crimes committed against the Spaniards, and for other acts of rebellion,—held the matter pending decision. With regard to the allegation that there was inaction in handling the Mindanao Problem, he was inclined to make excuses for these matters, and with respect to the maintenance of the penal colony at Caldera as well. In order to proceed with honest propriety, he consulted the matter to the *Audiencia* and other learned persons, requesting their opinion in the matter, stating to them his own wishes therein, and representing to them certain reasons with which he proposed to persuade them to agree with his views. The *Audiencia* advised him not to remove or abolish the penal colony in Caldera Bay; on the contrary, to help and maintain the same, and to attend as early as possible to the matter of Jolo or Sulu and that of the Mindanao River, even if he had to sacrifice some other project entirely or partially, for the reason that the former were affairs deserving prior attention and therefore should be taken up because this was for the best interests of these Islands, not only to pacify the provinces concerned, but to have them controlled, otherwise they would be encouraged upon seeing the Spaniards abandoning all of them entirely, to go ahead with their daring spirit and attack the "painted ones" or Visayans, and make slaves out of them; likewise to foster rebellion right here at home.[1] Notwithstanding this advise, the Governor remained bent on removing and abolishing the penal colony; so he sent orders to Captain Villagra to forthwith burn the fortress which had been constructed in Caldera Bay; and return with all his men and vessels he had with him, to Manila. These orders were immediately complied with, as both the Captain and his soldiers did not desire any thing better than to dismantle the fort and return home. Inasmuch as the Sulus saw the Spaniards leave the country, they were convinced that they would never return to Mindanao and that they had no power with which to do so, so they waxed more courageous and made more efforts to join the Buhahayans of the Mindanao River and to arm a great number of vessels and vintas of various kinds with which to sail to the coasts of the "painted ones" (Visayas) to ravage and sack them and make captives of them. The Tampacans who had lost all hopes of receiving greater benefits from the

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[1] This weak king, animated by goodwill and endowed with the most limited intelligence that God had granted to kings, could not play his role better than he did.

[2] All this could have been avoided if the energetic Anacaparan had been left to rule in peace the country that he liberated and the family of the pusillanimous King Praunkar in the tranquility of Laos. But this meddling in other people's business in order to stir them up is a vice common to men: says a Spanish proverb.

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[1] As it happened afterwards.

Spaniards and of seeing them return to the River, seeing that they had even abandoned the penal colony in Caldera Bay and departed from the land, decided to join up with the Buhahayans in order to cover up the war injuries and damages they had received at the hands of their neighbors and erstwhile enemies. So they turned their weapons against the Spaniards, promising themselves many incursions into their lands, with the corresponding gains they would make thereby. They placed their fleet in readiness under two chief men to direct their action: the pilots of the Mindanao River named Sali and Silonga; and on the month of July of the year ninety-nine, when the winds begin to blow, they sailed from the Mindanao River and headed for the Oton and Panay Islands, and neighboring ones, carrying fifty vintas bearing over three thousand fighting men wielding arquebuses, campilan swords and carasas[1] and other hand-weapons and many small mortars. Passing by the Island of Negros, they proceeded to the Panay River, entered the same up to the principal settlements of the same, where the *alcalde mayor* or chief magistrate resided with other Spaniards, about five leagues up-stream, looted the same, burned the houses and churches and made many captives of Christian natives, men, women and children causing many deaths cruelties and other injuries among them. Some of their vintas proceeded up-stream for over ten leagues doing the same damage and leaving nothing standing up, because the *alcalde mayor* and those who were able to do so, escaped inland to the mountains, thus giving the enemy greater opportunity to do their worst. Then they left the Panay River with their fleet, burning up all boats and canoes they found in the river, and carrying with them a great amount of clothes which they looted, and likewise many Christian captives. They did the same thing in the other islands and towns which they attacked. Then they returned to Mindanao without any body harming or interfering with them, carrying much gold and clothing and over eight hundred captives, aside from those they had killed. Once in Mindanao, they divided the spoils and agreed that on the following year, they would again fit out a larger fleet and return with a firm determination to wage war on the people.[1]

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[1] *Kalasag,* Shield.

This daring assault by the Mindanao Moros on the islands of the "painted ones" was so damaging first because of the actual damage and injuries done, and second because of the fear which they instilled in the minds of the natives, for the reason they were in the power of the Spainiards who kept them in subjection as tributaries, rendering them weaponless and defenseless, so that they could not even protect themselves from their enemies, as they formerly could when there were yet no Spainiards in the land.[2] Therefore, many communities of peaceful and subject natives would become discontent and would go up to the Tingues[3] from where they would not like to return to their houses and their authorities and their *encomenderos* or grantee masters. They would think—and would talk about it everyday—that they would like to rise up together, but upon some promise on the part of said grantees or the priests, they would, however, calm down and remain in subjection and only regret deeply their grievances. Even if these grievances were being lamented in Manila, and even more so because of the expected future harassment by the enemies, the Governor being so poorly equipped with vessels and whatever was needed for defense of this nature,—the people could never go beyond that feeling of self-pity and depression;[1] and they experienced a greater realization of the evil done by the removal or abolishing of the camp in the Mindanao River and the wrecking of the penal colony in Caldera Bay.

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[1] This is the first piracy of the inhabitants of the South recorded in the history of the Philippines. We say "inhabitants of the South" for before them there had been others, the first ones being those committed by the Magellan expedition, capturing vessels of friendly islands and even of unknown ones, demanding from them large ransoms.

If we are to consider that these piracies lasted more than two hundred fifty years during which the unconquerable people of the South captured prisoners, assassinated, and set on fire not only the adjacent islands but also going as far as Manila Bay, Malate, the gates of the city, and not only once a year but repeatedly, five or six times, with the government unable to suppress them and to defend the inhabitants that it disarmed and left unprotected; supposing that they only cost the islands 800 victims every year, the number of persons sold and assassinated will reach 200,000, all sacrificed jointly with very many others to the prestige of that name Spanish Rule.

The Spaniards, however, say that the Philippines bring nothing to Mother Spain, that it is the Islands that owe her. Probably; the enormous quantity of gold that she took from the Islands in the first years, the tributes of the tenants of the *encomiendas*, the nine million duros paid to military men, employees, diplomatic agents, corporation, *etc.*, the salary not only of the people who go to the Philippines but also of those who return and even of those who had never been or will ever be in the Islands nor have any thing to do with them—undoubtedly all this is nothing in comparison with so many captives, soldiers who died in the expeditions, depopulated islands, inhabitants sold as slaves by the Spaniards themselves, the death of industry, demoralization of the inhabitants, *etc., etc.*—wealth brought to these Islands by that holy civilization.

[2] We are not surprised that the patriotic and circumspect Morga had made this of record without attenuating or correcting it. Other contemporary historians have also reproduced the same complaint.

[3] Mountain ridges? From the Malay *Tingui*, mountain, height (p. de Tavera.) From this is the etymology of the word *Tinguian.*

As soon as weather conditions permitted, the Mindanao and Sulu Moros came back with a greater fleet of over seventy well-armed vessels or vintas, carrying over four thousand fighting-men, under the command of the same Silonga and Sali and other principal men of Mindanao and Sulu,—and swooped down on the same Islands of the "painted ones", with the avowed purpose of taking and looting the *villa* or privileged Spanish of Arévalo, a well-populated one in Otón. Upon having learned of the imminent incursion, Captain Garcia de Sierra, the *alcalde mayor* of said province, and having been apprized of the designs of the enemy, attended to the most necessary preparations and gathered in the *villa*, all the Spaniards thereof and of the neighboring places and organized and prepared accommodating the people inside the town, repairing as well as he could, a wooden fortress they had in which he concealed the women and the valuables; and with about seventy Spaniards and their arquebuses they awaited the enemy who proposed to again attack and raid the Panay River, by first sailing around the Island of Negros then then coming to the villa of Arévalo and landing near the settlement of the natives and then placed fifteen hundred men on land armed with arquebuses, *campilans* and their shields; and then hurried to charge the town proper of the Spaniards which was their real ob jective. The Spaniards came out to meet them divided into troop-units, and opened fire against the enemy with their arquebuses compelling them on turn their backs and retire to their vintas in confusion, killing many Mindanao Moros before they could board their boats. Captain Juan Garcia de Sierra who mounted a mare, pressed the enemy so hard as far as the shore, that they cut off her legs with their campilans and brought the captain down and killed him. The enemy took to their vintas after losing many men, made a stop at Guimarez Island[1] which is visible from the *villa*, and there made a recount of their men, wounded and dead—who were not few—one of them being a prominent head-man. Then they made signs of profound grief and sailed away to return to Mindanao playing their gongs and wooden instruments, and did not stop any more in the Visayan Islands. They obtained very scant gains and advantages from their aggressive adventure at this time, but rather suffered great detriment and loss of people and reputation, and upon reaching Mindanao and Sulu, they suffered a greater loss. And in order to make amends for this failure they agreed to return there on the following *moncion*[2] with more men and a larger fleet to raid the "painted ones" country.

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[1] What bitterness and sorrow are revealed in these lines! Morga was one of those upright men who go to the colonies from time to time, rare like comets, and like these are precursors of misfortune for superstitious peoples. In these last days, comets of this kind appeared also in the Philippines

Going back to the matters of Japan, mention was made of the vessel "San Felipe" in Hurando, in the province of Toza; the martyrdom of the barefooted Franciscan priests in Nagasaki, and the departure of the Spaniards and priests who had remained there, except Fr. Gerónimo de Jesús, who, discarding his cassock, fled inland to hide therein; how after Taicosana had replied to the Governor in Manila through Don Luis Navarrete his ambassador, justifying himself for what he had done; he (Taicosana) had determined—through the pressure of Faranda Quiemon and his advisors—to send out a fleet against Manila, and so had provided Faranda with rice and other supplies in order to equip said fleet and after he had begun to prepare for it, but had not managed to have the same quite ready, as he had promised; so that the matter had been delayed and remained pending completion.[1] Later, it happened that Taicosana fell ill in the Miaco of a serious malady of which he died, although he had time to arrange for his succession and rule of his kingdom and for the continuance of the Empire represented by the person of the only son he had, ten years old. For this purpose, he set his eyes on the oldest Tono or Lord existing in Japan, named Yeyasudono, Lord of Quanto,[2] composed of certain provinces in the Northern region, who had children and grandchildren, and wielded great power and influence in Japan than anyone else in the Kingdom. He sent for him and told him, in his Court, that he wished to marry his son to his granddaughter, the daughter of his eldest son who would be his successor in the Empire. The marriage was consummated and the government of Japan was entrusted meantime before his son became of age, to Yeyasudono, together with Guenifuin Fungen, Ximonojo and Xicoraju his great favorites and also his councilors. For several years the affairs of the government had passed through the hands of said persons in order that together, they would continue to serve after his death until his son should come of age, and rule in person, to whom he had vested with authority as such, and turned over the kingdom to him as his successor as Supreme Lord of Japan. Taicosama died in the year fifteen hundred and ninety-nine, and the five governors placed his son under guardianship and custody in the Fortress of Osaka, enjoying the services and comfort befitting his person, while they remained in the Miaco to govern the country. They attended to the same for some time during which the project of Faranda Quiemon to make an expedition against Manila, entirely petered out, and nothing more was said about it. However, since the affairs of Japan are never stable but have always been disturbed, the conditions under which Taico had left his Empire did not remain stable for many days, for the reason that, with the advent of the new Government, the arrival in Court and in the provinces of the Tonos and Lords, Leaders and Captains and soldiers whom the Combaco had employed—to divert them from the affairs of the State—in the wars of Coray with the King of China, the hearts of men began to be disturbed and corrupted so that the four Governors developed suspicions and had misunderstandings with Yeyasudono because of their misgivings over the way he ruled and his conduct which tended—considering his great power to take the Empire for himself, thus excluding and disregarding the son of Taico who was married to his granddaughter. These misgivings and concern increased as many Tonos and Lords of the Empire began to assume the same attitude, and whether the purpose was to place the succession in the hands of the son of Taico, or to see the country plunged into turmoil, so that each one might derive his share of the benefits — and this must have been more like it — a greater incentive than to favor Taicosama, who after all had been a tyrant more feared than loved. So these great ones persuaded the governors to oppose Yesasudono and obstruct his purposes. In view of their energy in this respect and the decided opposition they offered him earnestly, and it being to the advantage of Yeyasudono to do it, he retired from the Government of the Miaco and returned to his domains in order to protect his own person and to come back with a force of men to the Court to impose obedience. Upon realizing his intentions, the Governors were not neglectful or inactive but prepared men, and placed two hundred thousand fighting-men on the field, and the majority of the Tonos or Lords of Japan joined the supporters of Yeyasudono, his leaders, Christian and "Gentiles" and the minority remained on his side and were for his cause. He left as promptly as he could the Kwanto, and went forth to meet the Governors and their forces to give them battle with one hundred thousand men, the best ones in his domains. Both armies came opposite each other, and the battle for power was on. In the course of the conflict, many things happened which made the outcome doubtful, until many partisans of the Government left their camp and went over to the opposite camp of Yeyasudono who were thereby reinforced, so that his cause attained victory at the cost of the death of many prominent men. Very few escaped and those who remained, among them the four Governors, fell into the hands of Yeyasudono. He ordered the elimination of most of the Tono Lords, while other lords were deprived of their feudal domains and provinces, and there was a renewal of the system of Government which favored naturally, the persons close to him, his favorites, etc. After he returned to the Court triumphantly over his enemies, and seized the entire Kingdom, he meted out special justice to the four Governors by having their ears cut off, crucifying and parading them on carts around the streets of the principal cities of Osaka, Sakai and Fugimen and the Miaco itself, until they died on their crosses of this and other additional tortures. The implication can be said to be that those men who had a few years before, been instrumental through their advise and efforts, in inducing Taico to treat in such a fashion the barefooted friars which he had martyrized, were by God's will, likewise punished now with the same severity.

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[1] Gimaras

[2] Monsoon.

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[1] It is curious besides to think why, while in Japan preparations to invade the Islands were being made, the government was making expeditions to Tongkin and Cambodia, dismantling the Islands, so that they became impotent even for the undisciplined hordes of the South. At that time the eagerness for conquests dominated the spirit of the Spaniards.

[2] Kuwanto.

These events placed Yeyasudono in the position of universal Ruler of Japan as Taicosama had been before, and he refrained from recalling the latter's son who remained a prisoner in the Osaka fortress; on the contrary, he increased the guard stationed to secure his person. He changed his name—as is customary among the Lords of Japan — giving himself the dignified appelation of Daifusama.

Fr. Gerónimo de Jesús a companion of the martyrs, who had remained hidden in Japan owing to the persecution of the tyrant Taicosama and went inland, discarding his cassock, and lived among the Christian converts, so that even if a search was made for him, he was not discovered until after Taicosama died, and Daifusama seized the reigns of Government, when he came to the Miaco. He had received orders to make himself known to a servant of Daifu and to tell him many things about the Philippine Islands, the King of Spain and his kingdoms and dominions, especially those he had in New Spain on which the Philippine Islands depended and had concourse with, and Perú, and how beneficial it would be to Daifu to have friendship and trade relations with the Spaniards. The servant of Daifu had the opportunity to relate all these things to him, who, many days ago had thought of extending to him dominion in the Kwanto, of which he was the natural Lord, in order to improve its condition,—the trade relations which had been established with the Portuguese in Nangasaki. Believing that he could enter negotiations along these lines as referred to by Fr. Gerónimo, he had the priest brought before him for interrogation. After telling him who he was, he related how he had remained in Japan after the martyrdom of his companions, that he was a priest, and that the Governor in Manila had sent him during the lifetime of Taicosama as an envoy to negotiate about peace and amity with the Spaniards, and had suffered very much, as was generally known, for having made Christian converts, and having established a few hospitals and houses in the Court and other cities of Japan, treating the sick and doing other works of Charity, without expecting any reward nor benefit other than to serve God and teach the souls of that Kingdom, the Law and the Way through which they could be saved and be enabled to serve their fellowmen. This—he continued—is how he and those of religion complied with their duty without seeking nor possessing any property or riches on earth, living and maintaining themselves only out of the alms given to them for their work.[1] After this the priest told him who the King of Spain was, and how he was a Christian, and of the great kingdoms and states he possessed everywhere; and that the New Spain, Peru and the Philippine Islands and the Indies were his, and that he governed and defended all, endeavoring particularly to increase and maintain the Faith in Our Lord Jesus Christ, true God, who created the Universe. He also apprized him of the matter relative to the Christian religion as best he could, and told him that if he desired friendship with His Majesty and his vassals in Manila, he had means to arrange it, also with His Viceroys of New Spain and Peru, and that this relationship would be quite useful and advantageous to all his kingdoms and domains in Japan.

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[1] If we don't see the opposite now and if that agreement to Christianize Japan did not exist in order to place her under the king of Spain, we would say that this Fr. Gerónimo de Jesús was a liar.

This last point, the matter of the friendship and trade with the Spaniards appealed best to Daifusama in view of the advantage and interest which could be derived therefrom. He was nonresponsive to the other things regarding religion which even if he did not reject or say anything against, did not enter in his discussion of matters on this interview and on others as well with Fr. Gerónimo, who had already appeared in public in his cassock as priest with the leave of Daifu, who provided him with the necessary means of support —regarding the matters which constituted friendship with the Governor in Manila, and also on the fact that the Spaniards there could come with their vessels and trade-wares every year to the Kwanto where there was a good port. Once the trade was established, his Japanese subjects could sail from there to New Spain where they could enjoy the same friendship and trade relations with the Spaniards. Inasmuch as he was aware that the voyage was a long one and that he needed Spanish vessels to undertake the same, he figured that the Governor in Manila could send over shipbuilders, experts and officers to build them, considering that in the Kingdom and main port of the Kwanto, which as has been stated, lies in the Northern part of Japan which is mountainous and abounds in silver mines remain undeveloped because there are no people expert enough to do it. There, Fr. Geronimo had his house together with such companions as he might wish to have near him among the Spaniards who would go, the same as the priests of the Society of Jesus had in Nagasaki with the Portuguese. Fr. Geronimo who desired to restore the cause of his priests as well as the matter of the conversion of Japan to Christianity in any way he could by his own efforts, in the same way they had commenced it during the lifetime of the martyrs, and seeing that he was impelled by this sole consideration, did not hesitate to often communicate his ideas to Daifu and to assure him that all his desires could be achieved through him, and that there was no difficulty in acomplishing the same. The Daifu seemed agreeable to the scheme to a greater degree than his predecessor Taico had been, and assured him that he would greatly welcome the Spaniards with their vessels that would be sent there, and have them accommodated and supplied in every way, and that he would not allow any Japanese to sail out and rob or do any harm to the coasts of the Philippine Islands. Having learned that on that same year about six vessels of Japanese corsairs had left the Island of Zazuma[1] and other ports of the Southern kingdoms and seized and robbed two Chinese vessels which were entering Manila with their merchandise, and had caused much damage along the shores, he had them (fourteen hundred in number) sought all over his Kingdom, and once they had been arrested, had them all crucified.[2] He likewise ordered that the vessels which had sailed every year from Nagasaki to Manila carrying flour, would not go in such large numbers but in limited ones; sufficient to supply Manila with said commodity subject to the permission and will of the Governor therein, also that they might not suffer any losses and damages.

Inasmuch as Daifu was every day importuning Fr. Gerónimo more and more regarding the matter entrusted to his care, and the father had answered him that he had already written[3] the Governor and would write again to the Governor and the Royal *Audiencia* or Supreme Court in Manila on the matter concerned. He asked Daifu that the letters he hand-carried by a servant or a domestic of the Palace of the Daifu in order to give the matter a seal of authority and credit, and the Lord approved the request. He sent Captain Chikiro and his servant, a non-Christian Japanese who also bore a present of various arms for the Governor together with the letters of Fr. Gerónimo without any other personal letter from Daifu, aside from these written on his behalf by Fr. Gerónimo as he claimed, which letters sought the improvement of the relations of friendship and peace between the Philippine Islands and Japan mentioning the things which Daifu promised and assured, and in order the better to insure this, the assurance of the Lord that the Spaniards could proceed to send their trading vessels to the Kwanto and then in his turn, that the Governor also send over master shipbuilders and yard-personnel to build vessels with which to sail from Japan to New Spain[1] and to establish trade and friendly relations with the Viceroy there, for which purpose, he claimed, the Daifu had already given his leave also for representatives of religion to go to Japan, make Christian converts and build churches and monasteries for which project the Daifu has assigned a good site at the Miaco where he lived, likewise in other parts and localities of Japan, whereever they wished. This question was mentioned by Fr. Gerónimo in addition to what the Daifu had agreed to, and the friar did this with cleverness and forethought, in order to arouse the priests in the Philippine Islands to exert their utmost efforts to press the matter upon the Governor and the *Audiencia* so that they would adopt the proposition in order that all the negotiations so far made by Fr. Gerónimo, would not go to waste.

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[1] Satsuma.

[2] The same conduct Mr. Francisco de Tello must have followed towards the men of the flagship *Almiranta* in the expedition of Mr. Luis Dasmariñas. Not only had they dishonored the Spanish flag, not only did they fail in their duty, but they also committed the unwise act of wanting to capture a boat belonging to a friendly nation and with whom Mr. Juan Zamudio was trying at the time to establish commercial relations. But these rigid acts of justice were being committed by a barbarous nation, which was how the Spaniards called Japan.

[3] This is not true, as it will be seen later; but Fr. Gerónimo de Jesús would call it a pious lie.

During the incumbency of Governor Don Francisco Tello in the latter part of October in the year sixteen hundred, there arrived a vessel from the Province of Camarines reporting that on the northern part of the Bay of Camarines, about twenty leagues from the mouth and the Cape of Espiritu Santo, there had entered and anchored two vessels, a captain's and an admiral's vessel which were well equipped with artillery and manned by aliens who, claiming to be the friends of the Spaniards, asked the natives to provide them with rice and other provisions in which they were short; after which they departed and sailed toward the mouth already mentioned, and sailing through it after having left a few fictitious letters addressed to the Governor Don Francisco Tello stating that they were friends and came with leave from His Majesty to pursue their trade. From this and from the report of a negro who had escaped from these vessels bound to the Island of Capul by throwing himself to the sea, and from an English-man[1] who had been seized on land by the natives, it was learned that these vessels came from Holland, where they had proceeded from as support to three other navy vessels carrying supplies and letters from the Count, Maurice of Nassau, otherwise called the Prince of Orange, authorizing the said vessels to make seizures in the Indies, which, having entered the Southern Seas through the Straits of Magellan, three of which had disappeared leaving these two, captain's and admiral's—had sailed along the coast of Chile and seized two vessels thereafter which they had deviated from the coast of Lima and had gone out to the open seas and continued their voyage without stopping, to the Philippine Islands, which they had entered with the intention of robbing whatever they could find. Having been informed that a galleon named "Santo Tomas" was being expected from New Spain carrying the proceeds of the sale of merchandise representing two years' cargo sent from Manila to New Spain, and also that within a few days there would arrive from China certain vessels loaded with merchandise which were enough to fill their needs; and further that at that time there were no galleys or navy vessels which could attack them,—they decided to go as far as the mouth of Manila Bay and amuse themselves thereabouts, by taking to themselves the supplies and provisions which were to enter the port, and then they put their plan into execution. The captain's vessel named "Mauricio" was commanded by Oliver de Nort[2] of Amsterdam, manned by one hundred men and twenty-four breech-loading[3] brass pieces of artillery, the vessel being one of those found a few years back in the possession of the Court of de Leste at the capture of the City of Cadiz. The admiral's vessel named "Concordia" was captained by Lambert Viesman of Rotterdam carrying forty men and ten pieces of artillery. When these two vessels were sighted on the coast of Chile, the Viceroy, Don Luis de Velasco who was then Governor of Peru, sent to pursue them, a fleet of vessels well armed with artillery, along the coast of Peru and New Spain up to California, carrying an expert crew starting from Callao, Lima, under the command of Don Juan de Velasco. However, they did not find the enemy who had left the coast and had taken to the open seas on their way to the Philippine Islands, and a storm overtook the fleet from Peru when it returned from California, and the captain's vessel got lost with all its men, and they never appeared again.

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[1] This friar was a vulgar diplomat, et a very bad politician, and as a result of his mischiefs, instead of settling the business of religion, he only irritated Daifusama who, at the beginning, was not disposed to persecute the Christians.

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[1] John Galleway, native of London, musician.

[2] Oliver Van Noort.

[3] That is, bronze cannons that are charged by means of an instrument called "spoon'.

Governor Don Francisco Tello, upon learning that this corsair was penetrating the Philippine Islands, through the reports of certain captains and soldiers whom he had sent by land along the coast of Luzon Island and in order to prevent him from landing his men in the country or do any harm to the towns thereof, and also from other small vessels which were watching the enemy, — tried to devise a remedy to the situation which at the time seemed to be a difficult one, in view of the fact that he did not have any kind of rowing-vessels or large-size ones with which to venture forth to sea, besides having few soldiers on the field, as most of them had been assigned to the provinces of the "tattooed ones" (the Visayas) Under Captain and Sergeant-Major Juan Xuarez Gallinato with galleys, galliots and other vessels defending the natives from the vintas of the Mindanao and Sulu Moros who came very frequently to raid them; to be prepared for the expedition which was being planned for the forthcoming moonsoon season against Jolo which could no longer be postponed. Seeing himself troubled by this emergency at a time when the enemy, the Dutchman, could do so much damage and make many seizures and make away with the booty to the ruin of the country, — the Governor summoned the *Audiencia* and brought the matter before the same and besought the justices thereof to help out in whatever was necessary in the premises. They discussed what measures were best to take in the matter of the defense of Cavite, which is inside Manila Bay, to prevent the enemy from taking possession of the same together with the warehouses, artillery and navy-yard and that they should together immediately proceed to arm said vessels with which to go out to sea and present some sort of opposition to the enemy — if nothing more — so as to hinder his permanence in the country and to encourage his leaving the islands. If the intruder saw signs of so much helplessness and scarce means of resistance, he would stay until he had obtained his objectives. The execution of the plan was entrusted to Dr. Antonio de Morga,[1] and the licentiate Tellez de Almazan was assigned to remain in the City with the Presiding Justice and Governor, to defend the same and from there to supply Dr. Antonio de Morga and the Port of Cavite with everything that they should need to carry out the work. They left Manila on the last day of October in the year sixteen hundred with a few soldiers and some ammunition for the Port of Cavite which he placed in a state of defense and security with one hundred and fifty men, well armed with arquebuses and muskets who were stationed continuously, day and night, at their posts and stations together with their guardsmen at the convenient places, guarding the same. He put together in the *poblacion* of town proper and as near as possible the navy-yard, all the vessels available there, near the yard where a *galizabra* or Latin-type vessel was being built and where there was a vessel from Cebu and a small Portuguese tender which had arrived from Malacca with merchandise. As defense thereof, he emplaced in the navy-station some medium pieces of bronze artillery of the breech-loading type, including two longer-range cannon, with men stationed at a point near the entrance to the port, all of which guns were there for the protection thereof, and of all the vessels therein placed. Along the shore in front there were built wooden trenches with ramparts behind which the artillerymen could find cover in case the enemy penetrated the line. Justice Antonio de Morga having prepared th defense of the port in that fashion, he endeavored to complete the construction of the *galizabra* type of vessel although there was much work to do on her besides launching and then sailing her, likewise equipping the vessel from Cebu. He was so eager and in such a hurry to finish the work, that within thirty days he was able to complete the *galizabra* and the Cebu vessel with cross-jack yard and to equip them each[1] eleven heavy and medium artillery pieces sent to him from Manila, aside from those emplaced in the port.

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[1] Our historian was like a politician of ancient Rome: Scholar, warrior, jurist, and historian.

The corsair arrived at the mouth of Manila Bay, eight leagues from Cavite Port but did not dare to enter the latter as he had planned because he had learned from certain Chinese who used to go out to sea on *sampans*, that the port was already property equipped with defenses, but he did not realize that there was the intention to sally forth from the port nor that there existed at that time any equipment and main at the said mouth of the bay using both his strength to do so; so that he allowed himself to re-vessels and tenders, changing from one side to the other of the Bay and seizing all the vessels which entered the Bay with supplies, letting not one of them escape him, and only landing at night and taking cover behind the natural land formations always within a distance of four leagues from the mouth of the Bay without staying farther from said mouth, for the reason that this was the most convenient thing to do the better to take advantage of the opportunities which offered themselves to the pirate.

Dr. Antonio de Morga would daily send within sight of the enemy, certain small and light vessels under cover of land, by which he learned the exact location of the enemy and what he was doing, which was to possess definite intelligence, sending his guards every afternoon on top of the prominences, using boxes, flag-signals and arquebuses discharges, volleys as means of recognition to ascertain the fighting strength which the corsair was bringing with him, thereby learning that of the two vessels, the captain's vessel was the better and lighter one. The justice likewise managed to forbid every *sampan* or other vessel to leave the bay so that the corsair might no obtain information of what was being done; and having the matter thus well under control, Justice Morga apprized the Governor of what preparations he was making and suggested that if the Governor thought it proper, the Portuguese vessel be likewise armed to serve as support or reserve to the two vessels, the *galizabra* and the "San Antonio de Sebu" which he had commandeered and equipped for this purpose. There were provided ammunition and supplies of rice and some fish for the two vessels and they were only lacking in personnel both crewmen and fighting-men to go with the same, of whom there was a scarcity, and the seamen were hiding and malingering and almost everyone appeared reluctant to go out and venture forth on a matter involving more risk and danger than any particular advantage. Private captains and soldiers in the City who were earning no salary or benefit from the king, who could join the expedition, did not volunteer to the Governor to serve therein; and if there was anyone who would care to join he would stall until he knew who would command the fleet; because while some captains of the land could be the commander, the Governor did not feel himself inclined to entrust the duty to him or them neither would the others agree to serve under them. Some ones, claiming or pretending to be capable to command the expedition, would not consent to be under their fellow men. The Governor was prevented from going out in person and he knew that the city people had given to understand if Dr. Antonio Morga would be the one to go with the fleet, they would go with him, disregarding anything to obstruct their way; and the Governor having properly realized the will of the ones who could join up and that there was no other way to achieve the desired purpose, and considering that every day of delay constituted a grave danger, he summoned the Justice and spoke to him about the business; and in order not to leave any room for an excuse on his part, he issued an order of which the Justice was immediately notified by the Government Secretary directing him on behalf of His Majesty, to set sail as General and chief of the fleet to seek and pursue the corsair; as, otherwise, according to the prevailing conditions of affairs, the situation would not have the desired remedy. It appearing to Justice Morga that if he refrained from assuming the duty, he could be blamed for passing up such an important opportunity to serve God and His Majesty and for the benefit of the entire country, seeing that all matters of war had been handled by him and that he had taken charge of both by land and sea, and it could redound to his discredit if he turned his back to this emergency, especially as he was being sought to take up the duty, when the Governor himself was taking such interest in the matter. So, in his own interest he duly obeyed and did what was expected of him by the following order of the Governor, to wit, followed by his answer, as follows:

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[1] Each one with eleven, *etc.*

> *"ORDER OF GOVERNOR DON FRANCISCO TELLO AND ANSWER THERETO OF DOCTOR ANTONIO DE MORGA: —*
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> *"In the City of Manila, on the first day of December in the year Sixteen Hundred, the Honorable Don Francisco Tello, Knight of the Order of Santiago (St. James), Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands and Presiding Justice of the* Real Audiencia *(Supreme Court) within the jurisdiction stated: That, whereas there have come to the Philippine Islands two English enemy vessels,*[1] *and it being the will and opinion of the* Real Audiencia *to take immediate cognizance of the matter and to fit out a combat fleet to go after them, it was decided that Don Antonio de Morga be, as he hereby is instructed to proceed to the Port of Cavite and attend to the preparation and fitting and sending out of said armed navy vessels, and prepare the fortification of said Port as is recorded in the minutes of Government Matters of said* Real Audiencia *on the last day of October of the present year, on which I rely.*
>
> *"In compliance with said resolution, the said Justice has gone to attend to the fortification of said Port and the equipping of said armed vessels, the* "San Diego de Sebu"[2] *and the galleon* "San Bartolome" *which was quick-*

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[1] Probably until after the fight, the true nationality of the enemy was not known, taking them for Englishmen, the English captive John Calleway justifying it, though Morga already said that it was known that they came from Holland.

[2] In another port it is *called San Antonio de Sebú.*

ly finished at the shipyard and launched to sea, together with an English tender[1] *which came from the City of Malacca, and a galliot which was fitted out together with other minor vessels, all of which were prepared with utmost diligence and care. The said fleet is in such good condition that it can shortly put to sea, while the enemy is near this City on the coast of the Island of Miraveles.*[2] *Many captains, gentlemen and prominent persons in this City having learned that the said Justice is the person to undertake said expedition, they have offered to join up and serve in his company at their own expense, the King our Lord; and for this purpose great preparations have been made of people and supplies which thing would not have been done or would have ceased if the said Justice did not go with said fleet in pursuit of said enemy; and the result which is expected — so important in the service of God our Lord and of this land — would not be obtained, especially as said Justice is very practical in matters of warfare, as in other instances he has been fleet-general of His Majesty, by his appointment, and has served as Lieutenant of the Captain-General for several years in this kingdom*[3] *in which he has acquitted himself well, and he is well esteemed and beloved by the fighting element, and is the person best qualified for it*[4] *according to the present state of affairs and other considerations which have led to the situation, to ensure the success of said expedition and avoid its failure. At least so that the matter may not be delayed, to our detriment and inconvenience.*

"Wherefore, considering that said Hon. Justice has commenced this business and has personally placed it in the present satisfactory condition, and that all the people who are unemployed — and they are many — are inclined to follow him, — I hereby order and direct said Justice to prepare himself within the shortest time possible and take command as general and chief of said fleet to pursue the enemy. I shall give him the necessary instructions and means as may be convenient in the service of our

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[1] Portuguese.

[2] Island of Corregidor.

[3] The Philippines, kingdom of New Castile.

[4] All these praises agree with the testimonies of Morga's contemporaries of him.

Lord the King, in whose name he is hereby commanded by the undersigned as Presiding Justice of the Real Audiencia, *to do and perform everything during the time he shall be attending to this matter, with due permission to be relieved of his duties in attending to the business of said* Audiencia *or Supreme Court, which has properly given him leave to absent himself, for which it has made due provision and direction which I have signed by these presents.*

Don Francisco Tello,[1] appearing before me
(Sgd.) GASPAR DE AZEBO

"In the City of Manila, on the first day of December, in the year Sixteen Hundred, I, the Executive Secretary, do hereby notify Honorable Doctor Antonio de Morga, Justice of this Real Audiencia *of the order above-quoted, who on his part, stated: That beginning the first day of November last, he has been engaged by commission of the Supreme Court of these Philippine Islands in complying with what has been directed in said order, and in so doing, he has made his utmost possible efforts towards making said expedition possible and ready, to his best knowledge, to ensure the success of the objective of the same, and if his own person and his own estate are needed and are acceptable in the service of our Lord the King, he is ready to employ everything in the same, and to perform all that is ordered and directed by the Honorable Mr. Presiding Justice, he personally having no desire in this connection other than to serve God and His Majesty.—May his Honor direct and order whatever further may be proper and convenient in the premises, and he will obey and perform it. Thus he signed with his name, Doctor Antonio de Morga.*

(Sgd.) GASPAR DE AZEBO

"Doctor Antonio de Morga, without soliciting or receiving anything from the exchequer of the King, prepared and provided himself with everything necessary for the expedition. He helped some needy soldiers who came to report to him, there being not many other persons of means who did the same thing. Thus, within eight (8) days, there was a sufficient number of men for the expedition, with an abundance of supplies, food and arms which many brought aboard. With the adventurers and the personnel with pay whom the Governor gave to the Justice, coming from the Camp under the com-

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[1] Mr. Francisco Tello who had to remain in Manila (where he died) to render an accounting of his administration could have been a weak and unlucky governor, but he was undoubtedly a modest man, free from envy, as it can be seen here.

mand of Agustín de Urdiales, there were sufficient men to man the two vessels, each one having almost one hundred fighting men, aside from artillery and deck personnel plus sailors, of which latter there were less than needed. The Governor assigned as Admiral of this expedition, Captain Juan de Alcega an old soldier who was an expert on these Islands; and as Captain of the pay-soldiers who were to go on his Admiral's vessel, Juan Tello y Aguirre was appointed, and the other officers were appointed likewise and the other necessary positions were filled. He appointed Doctor Antonio de Morga as General of the fleet and furnished him with instructions as to what he was to do, contained in a sealed envelope, to govern his voyage, which was not to be opened until he was at sea out of Manila Bay, — couched in the following words:

"What is to be done by the Hon. Doctor Don Antonio de Morga, Justice of the Real Audiencia of the Philippine Islands, as Captain-General of the Fleet which is going forth in search of the English enemy — is as follows:

"Instructions of the Governor for Doctor Antonio de Morga:

In the first place, whereas the English enemy against whom this fleet has been armed, has been reported to be at the cove of Maryuma[1] *and considering that he could escape if he learns of our fleet, and may thus elude being attacked, — it is ordered that the fleet set out as soon as possible in his search and engage him in combat, fighting him until he is captured or sunk, with the help of Our Lord.*

"Likewise, engage the enemy in fight with artillery and by boarding his vessel — and this should be done with all possible diligence and utmost care — as the time and chance may better permit it, and if the enemy should take to flight upon seeing our fleet, — pursue him until our desired purpose is accomplished;

"Likewise, if at the time the fleet departs in search of said enemy, he has left this coast and there be news that he has sailed along the same toward any other island, our fleet must go in his pursuit, overtake and fight him until he is captured or sunk; and in the event that the enemy has left these Islands, the fleet must follow and pursue him as far as it can, the matter being left to the discretion of said fleet, so that it may attain the purpose desired by us;

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[1] The present port of Mariveles, according to the map of Fr. Colin.

"Likewise, inasmuch as in accordance with the decision of the council of war held on the second (2nd) day of this month and year by the Master of the Camp and captains therein present who expressed their opinion to the effect that there being no certainty as to what route has been taken by the enemy, said fleet should sail along the coast of Ilocos and turn to the Straits of Singapore where the enemy is presumed to pass on his voyage, However, notwithstanding the advice of said Council of War, in the absence of news as to what route was taken by the enemy, the said General of the expedition may do whatever he may deem most convenient considering the situation created by said enemy and the circumstances, endeavoring to achieve our desired purpose which is to overtake and destroy the enemy;

"Likewise, in the event that our fleet should encounter corsair enemies or other vessels sailing in these islands or which may have departed from them, doing damage to them, whether they be English, Japanese, Ternateans or Mindanao Moros or of other nationality, our fleet shall endeavor to attack and pursue them in such a manner that — if the chance should present itself — a good be thereby achieved;

"Likewise, when and if the enemy is taken — as we hope will be the case with the help of God our Lord — the persons remaining alive and the remaining vessels will be brought back by the fleet;

"Likewise, whatever spoils may be found on the enemy vessels shall be distributed in the fashion customary on said occasions, among the victorious parties;

"Likewise, it must be carefully considered that the personnel of the fleet be maintained in a peaceful disposition and be well disciplined, and in this connection, that the same precautions be taken as are customary in similar circumstances;

"Likewise, that there be kept perfect order in maintaining the supplies and ammunition the fleet is carrying, and that there be extreme moderation in its consumption, particularly if the fleet should leave these Islands;

"Likewise, in case the fleet has made contact with the enemy and has engaged it in combat, or in pursuing the same, it should sail out of these Islands; it should endeavor to come back within the shortest possible time; and if the weather conditions should not allow the fleet to so return, then it must do so upon the next monsoon

period. An endeavor should be made to preserve the fleet and provide for and supply the same with all needful things on the account of His Majesty, so as to enable the same to make the voyage in the shortest and most safe way possible.

"Given in the City of Manila on the 10th day of December, in the year Sixteen Hundred — Don Francisco Tello; by order of the Governor and Captain General."

(Sgd.) GASPAR DE AZEBO

The Justice and all his men repaired to the Port and boarded the two vessels, the "*San Antonio de Sebu*" being selected as the captain's vessel for being the most seaworthy for the men of action who embarked on it, and they left the Portuguese tender behind, as the Governor had released it so that the Portuguese could return on it to Malacca without any loss of time, and commandeering for service to the fleet, two vintas manned by natives with two Spaniards in command. They sailed from the port of Cavite and set sail after the men had taken confession and communion, on the twelfth day of the month of December of the year sixteen hundred, taking with them as senior pilot, Alonso Gomez; and on board the Captain's vessel, Father Diego de Santiago with a lay brother of the Society of Jesus and Fr. Francisco de Valdes of the Order of Saint Augustine; and on the admiral's vessel, Fr. Juan Gutierrez with another companion of the same Order, for whatever service they might render in their profession.

On the night of the same day both vessels of the fleet arrived near the town and landing-place of Miraveles on the Bay (Manila) and as soon as it was daylight, there left a *barangay* boat from ashore bringing the guards which on the previous day Justice Morga had speedily sent there to bring him news of the exact whereabouts of the corsair; who reported to him that at the time the fleet was leaving the port of Cabit, the enemy had also left the place where he had anchored and proceeded toward the port of the Friar[1] with his two vessels, having placed on board his two tenders and had crossed the open seas and had been seen to anchor at night in front of Valeitegui Point[1] where he remained. By these news, Justice Morga assumed that it was possible that the corsair had had news about the fleet being fitted out and of its planned departure, so he had weighed anchor, and considering that he had placed his tenders on board, it was probable that he was taking to sea in order to evade the fleet. Then he conveyed the same news to the admiral and opened the sealed instructions which the Governor had delivered to him; and learning through them that he was ordered to seek the enemy with all diligence and to pursue him, endeavoring to engage him in combat, he decided to expedite matters without loss of time and not allow the enemy to escape. Having made the decision, the fleet spent this Santa Lucia's day, December the thirteenth, in decorating the vessels, making ready the artillery, preparing the arms, assigning the posts and preparing itself to fight the next day which it had been figured out they would face the corsair. Justice Morga sent out private written instructions to the admiral regarding what he was to do and watch on his part. Most important of all was that upon facing the enemy, both vessels were to board and fight the corsair captain's vessel as it was the one carrying all the force; and on other things like the orders given to the admiral which were as follows:

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[1] Perhaps it would have liked to say "at the side of the Fraile Island," for we don't know any port with this name.

> *"INSTRUCTIONS OF DOCTOR MORGA TO ADMIRAL JUAN DE ALCEGA:*
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> *"The order which Captain Juan de Alcega, admiral of the fleet of our Lord the King, must follow in the course of this voyage, is as follows:*
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> *"First of all, considering that the purpose of this fleet is to seek and to pursue the English vessels, which have now entered the Philippine Islands, which are reported to be near this place, and which in accordance with the instructions that the Governor and Captain General of these Islands has given, have to be pursued with all care and diligence wherever they may be, in order to face the enemy in combat with a view to capturing or sinking them.*

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[1] Now Punta de Fuego.

Efforts should be made to render the admiral's vessel ready in every way; that its seamen and artillery-men be on the alert all the time so they may be enabled to produce the desired effect when the time arrives.

"In the next place, the admiral's vessel must follow the captain's vessel of the fleet on the lee-side of it, unless this cannot be done in view of the needs of navigation or because it is necessary to pursue the enemy by going windward, and must also consider the smaller vessels which are going with the fleet, and see that they are not left behind or defeated, without prejudice to watching her own navigation and route and its role to support the captain's vessel which is the most important consideration.

"Likewise, upon the admiral's vessel having the chance to engage the enemy in combat, she must endeavor to do so in unison with the captain's vessel or without her if the latter be on the enemy's lee-way or in such a position that she cannot readily do the same, for the reason that the captain's vessel will as quickly as possible in every instance, endeavor to come to her assistance;

"Likewise, upon reaching the enemy with his two vessels on hand, efforts must be exerted to approach and board the captain's vessel which is the one bearing all the struggle, and the captain's vessel of our fleet will do likewise. However, in case that the captain's vessel of the enemy cannot be overtaken, and his admiral's vessel is in such a proper position that she can be attacked effectively, she should be so attacked;

"Likewise, when the fleet should approach the enemy and board his vessel, efforts should be made to have both the captain's and admiral's vessels board both vessels on the same side;[1] *and if this cannot be done, they must endeavor that both enemy's artillery and arquebuses fire will not wither our vessels or men, and when this happens the greatest care and thought must be exerted;*

"Likewise, in boarding the enemy's vessels, efforts must be exerted to tie up securely our vessels to the enemy's and drop the sails on him so that he will be unable to disengage himself. As soon as our men can rush the enemy's deck, they must seize the netting and deck of the enemy, opening and clearing the same with the least possible damage to our men;

"In the course of the voyage in search of the enemy, no musket or arquebuses shall be discharged, neither

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[1] These instructions were not followed punctually during the battle, as it will be seen later.

shall any drum be beaten nor shall any piece of artillery be fired until he has been discovered, for the reason that he must be caught duly anchored and not be apprized of the fleet which goes out to pursue him;

"In the event that the admiral's vessel should find itself in great distress so that it must be succoured, it shall fire a cannon-shot from the side where the captain's vessel may be, and it will constitute a signal of distress; and it is likewise assured that the captain's vessel will do the same in the event that it shall find itself in similar need;

"Likewise, in case the Captain's vessel should hoist a flag on her shrouds, it shall be a signal that she is calling the admiral's vessel for a council of war or for another matter, upon which said admiral will come to the captain's vessel on whatever boat may then and there be available to him;

"Likewise, one of the two auxiliary vessels coming with the fleet, will keep a distance as short as possible to the admiral's vessel to attend to the needs of her service;

"Likewise, there should be borne in mind the necessity for utmost care in the expenditure of ammunition and supplies with the greatest possible economy, considering that the expedition may be prolonged;

"Likewise great efforts should be made that all these vessels be made to sail together in support of and reserve for each other, and no mention should be made of their destination — even if any one of them may be lost owing to any storm or other cause whatsoever — for the reason that the enemy's route and designs are not known. It is merely warned that all the vessels are to proceed in search and pursuit of said enemy until he is driven away from these Islands or something more drastic can be done against him, and said vessels should collect verbal news regarding the direction taken by him, and this route shall be the best for the lost vessel to follow until she can rejoin her fleet;

"Likewise, inasmuch as the Governor and Captain-General of these Islands has given the rank of Captain of Infantry to Don Ioan Tello y Aguirre who is aboard the admiral's vessel — to command such men as I shall designate, I hereby assign to him the following: The paid infantry-men who are on board the vessel for the entire duration of this expedition which men will be turned over by the Admiral to said Captain Ioan Tello

y Aguirre for the latter to take charge of and have under his command and discipline.

"All of the preceding matters being requisite to follow and observe for the present in pursuant of this journey, the which I hereby issue as instructions to said Admiral and other persons whom these presents may concern in accordance with those I have received from the Governor and Captain-General of these Islands.

"In testimony whereof, I have subscribed my name to these presents on board this Captain's vessel, on the Island of Miraveles, this Wednesday the thirteenth of December, in the year Sixteen Hundred.

(Sgd.) Doctor ANTONIO DE MORGA"

The Justice forthwith ordered the Admiral that from midnight onwards, the fleet be taken from its mooring and then to sea, leaving the Bay by using the full power of the sails, in order that the fleet might reach Baleitegui Point by dawn on the weather side with regard to where the enemy had anchored his vessels on the night of Tuesday, according as the sentinels had reported.

On the appointed hour both vessels, the captain's and the admiral's weighed anchor and sailed from Miraveles, taking advantage of the weather although for a short time — and during the rest of the night went around Baleitegui Point, and they could not be followed closely by the two native auxiliary vessels owing to the troubled waters with a fresh northwestern wind blowing and which two managed to cross the sea to the opposite side within the bay protected by the island, so that by daybreak, the two vessels of the fleet were over the Point where they discovered on the leeside one league away, the two vessels of the corsair which were anchored, but which upon recognizing our vessels, flying their captain's and admiral's flags, respectively, on their top-sails they forthwith weighed anchor and set sail after reinforcing the captain's vessel with a boatful of men from the admiral's vessel, and upon the latter being out on the open sea, the enemy captain's vessel steered to the wind with regard to our fleet, and discharged a few cannon-shots to find the range.

Our captain's vessel which could not answer with its artillery as its star-board gunports and its planks bellow were closed, — the captain's vessel we repeat — decided to close up on the enemy and board his ship on port-side and clear and mop up the vessel of all the men it had on board. They poured on the enemy deck some thirty soldiers and a few sailors who took possession of the fore-castle and the round-house astern, seizing the top-sail and quarter-flags together with the flag which was flying on the stern, bearing the white, blue and orange colors and the coat-of-arms of Count Mauricio. The large mast and sail-mast were despoiled of all their rigging and sails; and the large jolly-boat of the vessel was taken away from the stern. The enemy personnel which had retreated and hidden under the harpings, upon seeing two vessels set upon them with such determined men, sent a proposal of surrender to the Justice,[1] and while the latter was preparing his reply thereto, — Admiral Juan de Alcega whose duty according to instructions given to him on the previous day by said Justice, was to board the enemy vessel by the side of the captain vessel and keep close to the enemy vessel, but believing that he had already complied with said instructions to a finish, and seeing that the corsair's admiral vessel was trying to get away, and thinking that it was good to capture her, — he left behind the two captain's vessels and hurriedly sailed the stern of Lambert Viezman's vessel with full sail until he overtook him. Oliver de Van Noort seeing himself alone, and with a better vessel and artillery than the Justice had, waited no longer for the answer to the offer of surrender made at first, and resumed the fight with his muskets and artillery. The engagement between the two captain's vessels was so keen on both sides, that it lasted more than six hours with several casualties on either side, but the corsair had the worst of it inasmuch as out of his entire crew, only fifteen remained alive but greatly injured and disabled.[1] At last the corsair set fire to his own vessel, and the flames leaped up the mizzen-mast and part of the stern, so that it became necessary for the Justice to gather the banner and men he had on the enemy vessel, and disengage himself from the latter, which he promptly did, and he found out that his own vessel which was poorly protected, had been battered and broken on the prow owing to the heavy artillery pounding from the enemy during the long combat, and was fast taking in water and could not help sinking gradually. Seeing the plight of his enemy, the corsair who realized that the former could hardly follow him, hastened to set sail with his foremast and the few men left to him after extinguishing the fire on his vessel. Badly destroyed and with few men and scant equipment, he arrived in Borneo and the Sunda, where he was seen in such pitiable shape, that it seemed almost impossible for him to proceed further without becoming lost. The Spanish captain's vessel which was so busy in handling its own serious plight, and being beyond help, as it was alone and far away from the shore, — naturally sank very rapidly, hardly giving the men time to get rid of their arms, or save anything of value to them. The Justice did not abandon the vessel even when some soldiers took the jolly-boat from the stern in order to save their lives and urged him to come aboard the same way they took for themselves before others could take it away from them,[2] and left the vessel without him. Once the vessel had sunk, the Justice carrying with him the enemy's quarter-flags and banner, swam with them for four hours and came to land on a small uninhabited island named Fortune, about two leagues from the place where other men from the vessel who had the courage to brave the waters, also landed. The others were lost and drowned still fully laden with their arms. They were exhausted from the long fight with the enemy. Those who died fighting the enemy totalled fifty persons of all ranks, the better known ones being: Captains Don Francisco de Mendoza, Gregorio de Vargas, Francisco Rodriguez, Gaspar de los Rios. Those who drowned were Captains Don Juan de Zamudio, Agustin de Urdiales, Don Pedro Tello, Don Gabriel Maldonado, Don Cristobal de Heredia, Don Luis de Belver, Don Alonso Lozano, Domingo de Arrieta, Melchor de Figueroa, senior Pilot Alonso Gomez, Fr. Diego de Santiago and his brother companion.

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[1] This must have been done at the petition of the men of Oliver Van Noort because, as he himself confessed, the soldiers being tired, they refused to fight. In his account of his voyage, Oliver Van Noort does not mention this step for reasons easy to understand.

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[1] According to the Dutch, there ought to have remained 48 persons, for in its command it had 53 before the battle, five of whom died and 26 were wounded.

[2] Van Noort agrees with this account saying that the admiral's ship "had sunk so rapidly like a piece of marble that neither a pole nor trace of a ship was seen." He relates that seeing his enemies swim naked and shout "mercy", among whom they recognized a friar (Fr. Diego de Santiago), they speared them and killed them with cannon-shots. This nevertheless did not prevent them from attributing such a signal victory to the "mercy of God who favored them miraculously." On the bodies of five Spaniards killed during the battle they found tiny silver boxes full of prayers to the saints and incantations that the friars gave them as amulets to save them from the bullets. Perhaps the modern *anting-anting** of the bandits with a religious character has a relation to these.

Admiral Juan de Alcega having overtaken Lambert Viezman a little after mid-day, captured him with little resistance on his part. Later on he saw the vessel of Oliver Van Noort fleeing in very poor shape, but he did not attempt to follow her, but turned around with his admiral's vessel without stopping and sailed to Miraveles, leaving his prize with some of the men he had put on board with instructions to follow him. Neither did he attempt to look for the captain's vessel or make any other move, realizing that for whatever mishap that may have happened to her, he could be held responsible for leaving her alone to deal with the corsair and going after Lambert Viezman, contrary to the written orders of the Justice, fearing that if he rejoined the captain's vessel after they had parted, he would fare badly. In the evening the Justice having found the jolly-boat of his Captain's vessel as well as that of the enemy, in the small Island of Fortune, together with a native boat which arrived, removed from them the sick men and all those who had been saved, so that next day he had them all in the Luzon mainland, at the landing-place of Anazibu,[1] province of Balayan, thirty leagues from Manila where he had them provided for as quickly as it was possible. He likewise scoured the entire coast and neighboring island with light vessels in search of his admiral's vessel which he found together with the prize of the corsair vessel which he brought to Manila with twenty-five surviving men together with the Admiral, ten pieces of artillery and a quantity of wine, oil, clothing, canvas, arms and other merchandise. The Dutch admiral and men of his company were ordered to be garroted by the Governor, which ended the expedition and with it, the harm which the corsair was understood to have caused, and that which he was to do or would have continued to do, had he been allowed to roam the seas and accomplish his purposes, unfortunately to the great detriment to the Spaniards in view of the loss of the captain's vessel which would not have happened if the orders given by the Justice had been complied with. The Governor Don Francisco Tello issued a certificate covering the event, to the Justice, couched in the following words:

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[1] Nasugbu.

> "CERTIFICATE *OF GOVERNOR DON FRANCISCO TELLO OF THE EVENTS OCCURRING DURING THE EXPEDITION MADE AGAINST THE DUTCH CORSAIR:*
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> *"Don Francisco Tello, Knight of the Order of Santiago, Governor and Captain-General of the Philippine Islands, and Presiding Justice of the* Audiencia *and Royal Chancellery residing therein, etc., doth hereby certify to whomsoever may read these presents, that a fleet of Dutch navy vessels under the command of Oliver Van Noort having passed the Southern Seas through the Straights of Magellan on the past year Sixteen Hundred, — arriving in these Islands on the month of October therein with two (2) navy vessels and entered said Islands where he seized several prizes and caused sundry damage until he established himself at the mouth of the Bay of this City of Manila with the purpose of intercepting the trading vessels coming from China and the "Santo Tomas" galleon which was being expected from New Spain, bringing the silver shipment of two years from the trading-men of these kingdoms; and whereas, according to the resolution of said* Real Audiencia *dated October thirty-one of said year, — Dr. Antonio de Morga the senior Justice of said* Audiencia *was entrusted with the commission of departing immediately for the Port of Cavite and place the same in a proper condition of safety and defense, and to organize and build a fleet capable of going after the corsair, in which undertaking the said Justice engaged himself with great care and diligence, having fortified said port and rendered it a well-defended one, and having built and launched in the navy yard a medium-sized vessel, and equipped and armed another*

private vessel which was laying in port, the two of which he rendered seaworthy and ready to cruise, within only forty days. And in order that the expedition might be undertaken within the shortest possible time and the fighting men and everything necessary be made ready — which according to the present situation could not be done by any other person — I, the Governor, ordered the said Justice on the first of December of the same year, to sally forth as General of the fleet to seek the enemy and engage him in combat until he should be destroyed and/or driven away from these islands, all of which the said Justice accomplished in the following manner: On the twelvth day of December he set sail with his fleet of two vessels from the port of Cabit, and at daybreak on the fourteenth of said month he sighted the corsair outside the Bay of this City, at Baleitegui Point with his two vessels, the captain's and admiral's, whereupon he followed in pursuit of him until he overtook them, and upon being near enough to each other they commenced to fight and the Justice with his captain's vessel, engaged the enemy captain's vessel with exceeding gallantry and determination of boarding the said captain's vessel which was a larger and stronger one, having more men and better artillery pieces, thrusting on it a force of thirty infantrymen armed with arquebuses, and some adventurers and other seamen who seized the forecastle and chamber of the stern and the flag she had; which men at the end of the battle retired to our vessel owing to the fire which lastly developed on deck of the enemy vessel. Thus was fought the battle and combat between both sides which lasted more than six hours, with much firing of artillery-pieces, muskets and arquebuses from both sides. Likewise, the admiral's vessel of the enemy commanded by Lambert Viezman was taken and gained, together with the artillery-men and others who were found on board. The two captain's vessels having become disengaged from each other owing to the fire which spread on the enemy vessel and the abundant water which our own was rapidly taking in on her prow, — the enemy vessel sailed away in flight with only the foremast left and with almost all of her men being dead, after losing her jolly-boat, banner and top-sail and quarter-flags, without her yards, sails and rigging, the vessel having been shell-holed in many parts, maneuvering astern in departing; and according to several reports received, she reached Borneo with only fifteen or sixteen men alive, most of whom were disabled or wounded; and several days later she was finally lost near Sunda.[1]

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[1] This is not accurate, because Oliver Van Noort was able to return to Rotterdam on his ship, though after many hardships and adventures.

The Justice and those in his company suffered many hardships and dangers, and aside from many prominent men who died fighting, the prow of his vessel opened up, as already mentioned, owing to the scant resistance of the vessel which had not been built for naval encounters, so that it could not help but break up and take in water abundantly; and so it sank down the same day, drowning a portion of the men on it who were weary from keen fighting, and who had not even had time to lay aside their arms and other things. The Justice, who had refused to abandon the vessel, went down with the same into the sea, together with the rest of the men and only saved himself later by swimming away to the unpopulated Island of Fortune, two leagues distant from the scene of the action, carrying with him some of the enemy's flags, etc.

On the following day, he took away with him the saved or surviving men on board certain small native boats, and placed them safely on the mainland. In all these proceedings, the Justice conducted himself with utmost diligence and gallantry, exposing his person to all kinds of danger which the battle created and later on in the open seas, without any reward, salary or financial help having been afforded him, neither any assistance having been sent him from the coast or any kind of advantage whatsoever having been available to him whatsoever. On the contrary, he expended out of his private resources everything which was needed to equip himself for the expedition besides helping out some of the soldiers of fortune who participated in the action. He also declined to take any share in the prize or booty which was gathered from the corsair admiral's vessel which was brought to the City, but such share which should have corresponded to him, he yielded unto the King, our Lord, and His Royal Exchequer.[2] *With all this, all the objectives which we had sought, that is, to destroy and put an end to the enemy corsair, were duly attained, in the service not only of God, but also of His Majesty and the Kingdom; all of which events and actions have been set down in greater detail on the orders, reports and other documents which have been written or issued in regard to the expedition. And upon request of said Dr. Antonio de Morga, I have given these presents, subscribing my name and attaching the Seal of my Arms to them, in Manila on this date the twenty-fourth day of the month*

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[2] What a contrast to the conduct of the religious orders that for lesser and more insignificant deeds ask for estates, provinces and privileges, though they always proclaim that they do it for God and love of fellowmen!

of August, in the year of Our Lord, sixteen hundred and one —

(Sgd.) DON FRANCISCO TELLO"[1]

On the same year sixteen hundred, there departed from Manila to New Spain, two vessels loaded with merchandise, the captain's vessel being the "*Santa Margarita*" the general in command of which was Juan Martinez de Guillestigui, who, on the previous year had been designated as such; and the vessel "*San Gerónimo*" of Don Fernando de Castro. Both vessels suffered heavy winds during the voyage on thirty-eight degrees latitude, six hundred leagues away from the Philippine Islands, and experienced considerable hardships. At the end of nine months of travel on the seas after many persons thereon had died and after much loss of merchandise which had been jettisoned to lighten the load of the vessel, the "*San Gerónimo*" arrived in the Philippine Islands at the Catanduanes group outside the mouth of the Espíritu Santo, where it was destroyed but the people thereon were saved. The captain's vessel "*Santa Margarita*" after the death of its General and most people thereon arrived in the Ladrones Islands and anchored at the Zarpana where the natives who came on board, upon seeing the helpless condition of the disabled vessel, invaded the same and took possession of the same, the clothing and the wealth it had on board. The few living people left on board were taken by the natives to their settlements, some of whom they killed and others they maintained and gave better treatment. The native *Indios* wore on their necks the gold chains they took from the vessel and hung some of them on the tree-branches or kept them in their houses, like people who knew not their value.[1]

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[1] This certification was not issued until after more than seven months, perhaps for having needed to take many testimonies and to make inquiries.

[1] Hernando de los Rios in his *Memorial y Relación* attributes the loss of these two ships as well as that of *San Felipe* to the indolence of Mr. Francisco Tello: "For these same reasons other ships, were lost, like one called *Santa Margarita* that was lost off the Ladrones Islands, and another called *San Gerónimo,* lost off the Catanduanes Island, close to the mouth of the channel of those islands, and another that left Cebú called *Jesús Maria*". (p. 15) The *Jesús Maria* hat left during the time of Mr. Pedro de Acuña, was not lost, as Hernando de los Ríos claims. See pages 193 and 196.

About May, sixteen hundred and one, the galleon "*Santo Tomas*" arrived from New Spain with passengers and soldiers and the proceeds from the sale or barter of the merchandise, which had been long overdue in Mexico. The General coming on board was the Licentiate Don Antonio de Ribera Maldonado, who also came as *oidor* or auditor for Manila. A small vessel or tender for said vessel departed simultaneously from Acapulco as its auxiliary, but since it could not keep pace with the "*Santo Tomas*", it lagged behind after a few days' voyage. Upon arriving in the Ladrones Islands, some native boats came to meet it as was the custom to do, and brought with them five Spaniards from the vessel "*Santa Margarita*" which had foundered there on the previous year, which fact became known through said five survivors, also that twenty-six Spaniards had survived and were scattered among the settlers in those Islands. They said that if the vessel would stay two days there the natives would bring all the said Spaniards to them.

The priests and other people coming on board tried to persuade the General to stay that long and rest in those Islands, as after all the weather was benign, in order to get those men away from these Islands where they had stayed for one year, some courageous persons even volunteering to seek the Spaniards on land by means of the jolly-boat of the galleon and some native boats of the Ladrones; but the General answered nay to the request, as he thought it was only losing precious time to do so, and the voyage would be endangered thereby. Without the General's leave, lay friar brother Juan Pobre, who came as prelate of the barefoot priests of St. Francis who were on board coming to serve in the Philippine Islands, went aboard one of the native boats. The natives took him to Guam where he stayed with the Spaniards he found there. The galleon "*Santo Tomas*" resumed its voyage without stopping, to the great regret and sorrow of the Spaniards who were left behind, because they would have to remain among barbarians, and in fact some of them died later of illness and other troubles. The galleon arrived in the Philippine Islands in search of the Cape of Espiritu Santo and landing-place of Capul, on a dim moonlit night but in bad weather, and so dark that from the galleon one could see nothing, and neither the pilots nor seamen could recognize the place where they were. So, going in the general direction of the Catenduanes, the vessel entered a bay called Catamban,[1] which was twenty leagues from the mouth of the channel where they found themselves in a bay in a rough sea, and the wind blowing astern so that the galleon went ahead swiftly and stranded itself on some rocks near the land. That night the vessel almost got itself destroyed with all the people on it. When it was day, the General went ashore on the jolly-boat and secured the vessel to some rocks as the weather did not promise any improvement, and with every hour, the vessel was in greater danger of becoming lost. Since cables to secure the vessel were scarce, he decided to unload there as quickly as he could by means of the jolly-boat, and his decision was put to action, and all the people on board were brought ashore together with all the silver and most of the clothing and valuable cargo of the vessel. Eventually, Spaniards and natives of that province transferred all of it by means of vessels from there to Manila, eighty leagues away, mostly by sea and the rest by land. The vessel which was a new and beautiful one, was left behind quite destroyed so that no part of it could be utilized.

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The daring and nerve of the Mindanao and Sulu Moros in making raids with their vinta fleets in the province of the "tatooed ones" had reached such a degree, that it was even feared they might come as far north as Manila in making their piratical seizures and harmful activities. So, in order to intercept them, Governor Don Francisco Tello — summoning courage out of weakness — decided in the early part of the year Sixteen Hundred and two, that an expedition be undertaken at once against the Sulus or Joloanos both to punish and pacify it. So, with the fleet and men he had in Cebu and the Visayan Islands, Captain and Sergeant-major Juan Xuarez Gallinato, together with some more men, vessels and supplies which were sent to him, with the necessary instructions and plans to invade the island and to punish the king (sultan) and the natives thereof, pacify and reduce them to obedience to His Majesty, the Spanish King, so that with these measures, the enemy's daring and nerve should be restrained, until such time as the Mindanao Problem which affects Sulu so closely, could be properly tackled. By bringing war to the Sulu Moro in his own house, he would not very much think of going out to do harm and damage to the people. Captain Gallinato departed on the expedition, accompanied by two hundred Spanish fighting-men, vessels, artillery-pieces and provisions for four months which had been estimated to be the probable duration of the action, together with some natives to serve as crewmen for the vessels and other things which might be needed for the service. Upon arriving in Jolo, in the landing-place on the river of said island, two leagues distant from the main town and the houses of the sultan, the Spaniards landed their men and unloaded their artillery-pieces and necessary supplies on land, leaving their vessels in the care of the proper detail of guards. All the people of the island were at the *poblacion* or town proper and the houses of the sultan were atop the high crags to which there were two ways of ascent, but these were so narrow that people could only go up in file, one behind the other. The place was all fortified and entrenched with palm-tree trunks and other wooden posts protected with brass-mortars, with supplies together with drinking-water stored inside for their sustenance. There were many arquebuses and arms, and the women and children had been removed from the island beforehand. They had solicited the help of the Mindanao or mainland Moros, the Bornese and Terrenate natives who had been expecting this invasion since they received news regarding the fleet which had been gathered in the Visayas to attack them. Gallinato decided to place his camp near the town proper and to attack the Moros before the arrival of their allies and encamped himself half a league away on a plain in front of the ascending way to the plateau and enemy-fortress. He sent some verbal messages to the king or sultan and the principal men of the Island in order that they should submit to him, stating that the Moros would be well treated, and, while he was waiting for their answer, he fortified his quarters and dug trenches where these were necessary and emplaced his artillery-pieces in such a way that they would be ready when needed, with his men alerted for whatever emergency might ensue. The answer came couched in deceitful and false words, excusing themselves for their excesses committed, and for not doing those things which had been asked of them. They gave vague promises that they would perform those things in the future, all of which being intended to divert or entertain them in that position which was an unsanitary one, until the rains would come and the supplies of the Spaniards be expended and exhausted and their own allies, expected for some time, would arrive. After this answer was given, and it seeming to them that the Spaniards would by then be somewhat unguarded, the enemy suddenly descended from their fortress upon the Spaniards with their arquebuses and other hand-weapons. *kampilans*, cuirasses, a large force of men more than one thousand strong, and charged against the headquarters and camp of the Spaniards. This could not be done in a concealed manner so that the Spaniards could not see it and prepare themselves for it, for the reason that since they had arrived, they had been on the alert to receive them, as in fact they did receive them, at first allowing them to approach nearer in a mass formation until they were inside the camp and trenches and had discharged their arquebuses, — upon which the Spaniards dealt them first a volley of cannon-shot and then of arquebuses which killed many Moros and made them retreat in flight to their fort on top. The Spaniards followed them in pursuit wounding and killing many of them half-way up the plateau. Since from there on, the path was so narrow and rough, the Spaniards retreated owing to the small mortars fired from above, and the rocks which were rolled down by hand, they returned to their camp.

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[1] Port of Baras?

Many days later an attempt was made to go up the enemy fort, but it was not carried out. Upon seeing that the campaign was becoming more extended than it had been planned out in the beginning, Gallinato built himself two forts, one near where the vessels lay anchored, in order to defend these and the port, and the other one, a half-league further in a proper site for them to gather together and for the entertainment of the entire camp-personnel. They were made of wood and faggots of brush-wood protected by the artillery-pieces which they carried from where they often sallied forth as far out as the enemy-fort where he was always enclosed and never came down or surrendered being convinced that the Spaniards could not remain long in the island. Taking cognizance of the fact that the rains were imminent, and that their supplies were being exhausted and that what they had planned to do had not been done, and could not be done with the means at his disposal, and that the enemy Mindanao Moros and other allies were bragging that they were preparing a heavy fleet with which to drive the Spaniards away from Sulu, Captain Gallinato reported to the Governor in Manila all that had happened, drawing a picture of the Island and the enemy-fort, and mentioned the difficulties which they had met, by means of a light vessel commanded by Captain and sergeant-major Pedro Cotelo de Morales, in the latter part of May, sixteen hundred and two, requesting for orders as to what he should do, and asking for more men and supplies that were needed, under instructions to return with an answer as soon as possible.

At the time when in the Kingdom of Cambodia, the Moor Ocuña Lacsamana and his men, had killed Diego Belloso and Blas Ruiz de Hernan Gonzales and his Spaniards and Portuguese companions, it was stated that Juan de Mendoza Gamboa in his own vessel and Father Juan Maldonado and his companion, together with Don Antonio Malaver, Luis de Villafane and other Spaniards who had escaped and survived, because they had taken refuge on board Mendoza's vessel and had sailed on the same, going down-stream to the open sea, defending themselves from the attack of certain Cambodian and Malayan prows which pursued them until they left the sand-bar. Juan de Mendoza sailed along the coast to Siam where he had been bound to deliver his principal ambassadorial message. Upon reaching the landing-place, they continued to proceed up-stream to Odia City, the Court of the King who received the latter and envoy's message from Governor Don Francisco Tello, although with less ceremony and courtesy than Juan de Mendoza had expected.[1]

Then he discussed his trading business and being so timid in his discourses on customary things and on certain gifts and presents to the king and his advisors, he waxed so liberal in accepting barter-offers that the king increased in boldness and became inclined to relieve him of his own artillery-pieces which he carried with him when he came to covet them. Fearing what could happen next, Juan de Mendoza lowered the said artillery-pieces into the sea through buoys, so that he could retrieve them upon his departure, and only left one iron-piece and a few small mortars in the vessel for the sake of complying with his word. There was in Odia a priest of the Order of Saint Dominic, a Portuguese who had resided in that Court for the last two years, ministering unto the Portuguese who stayed there owing to their trading operations. Among these, there were some whom the king had taken from Cambodia and Pigu, during the wars between both kingdoms. These men, together with the other Portuguese, had had a few conflicts with the Siamese and had killed a servant of the king, — who, by the way, was slow in pardoning such transgressions and who had ordered some of the guilty ones to be fired to death, and had forbidden the others and the priest to leave the City and the kingdom as well, even if they sought leave to do so, and prepared to depart. Seeing themselves despoiled of freedom and being treated worse than they customarily were, and being threatened every day, they secretly arranged with Fr. Juan Maldonado to depart with him from the kingdom when the latter should leave with his vessel; and said priest agreed to the plan considering that Juan de Mendoza had been given clearance and allowed to depart, although not in the way he wanted to, because the king would not give him an answer for the Governor, and he had been overstaying too long and had not made good profits in his trading, so said Mendoza decided, upon the advise of Fr. Juan Maldonado, to gather together his artillery-pieces and sail downstream with the greatest haste possible and that on the same night, the Portuguese priest and his companions who were about twelve in number, would all secretly leave the City and would join Mendoza who was to await him on a designated place, eight leagues down-stream and they would sail away together. They all did this, and the king having learned that Juan de Mendoza had departed with his vessel without his leave and without any clearance papers, and that he was taking with him the friar and the Portuguese he had in his Court, he was so full of indignation that he sent forty armed prows and many fighting-men to pursue them, arrest and bring them back to his Court or kill them. Even if Juan de Mendoa exerted his utmost to sail downstream as quickly as he could, his vessel had no oars and his sails could not be used all the time, and the distance to be travelled was seventy leagues, the Siamese overtook him. Then when the pursuers were getting close, he took his measures of defense and harrassed them so much with his artillery and arquebuses fire, that they feared to board him. They came close a few times and endeavored to board his vessel and threw at his vessel many fire-brands, so that the Spaniards had to get busy protecting themselves; and it took over eight days of fighting day and night until they got near the sand-bar. In order to prevent the vessel from escaping them, all the prows which had remained intact from the past battle, attacked him together, making the last great effort they could exert. Although the Siamese could not carry out their purpose and got the worst of the fight and the great number of casualties and wounded men, the Spaniards also did not come out without considerable loss; because, as a result of the fight, the pilot Juan Martinez de Chave and the companion of Fr. Juan Maldonado and eight other Spaniards, died; and Fr. Juan Maldonado was badly wounded by a shot from a mortar which broke his arm, while Captain Juan de Mendoza got seriously wounded. After this, the Siamese retreated up-stream while the vessel sailed out to the sea badly battered; and the weather not being so propitious to them for crossing the shoals toward Manila — or even Malacca which was nearer — the Spaniards took the route to Cochin-China which they reached and where they joined a vessel of the Portuguese which was in port, and awaited until the latter should return to Malacca in order to sail with it as an auxiliary ship. Then Fr. Maldonado and Captain Juan de Mendoza became worse and then died of their wounds. Fr. Juan Maldonado left a letter written a few days before, and addressed to his prelate and to his Order of St. Dominic in the Philippine Islands, containing a report on his travels and work and the occasion of his impending death, likewise informing them of the nature and substance of matters in Cambodia, to which country he had been sent, and mentioning the reasons existing for worrying over the enterprise and the meagerness of the benefits to be derived from the same. He recommended that they heed the dictates of their conscience in order that they will no longer be used as instruments for returning again to Cambodia. Their vessel with everything it carried, went to Malacca and was sold there by order of the Court settling the estates of the dead; and some of the Spaniards who survived, came over to Manila, ill, poor and needy, as a result of the hardships suffered.

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[1] Remember how the government of Manila had behaved toward the envoys of Siam and the help it pretended to give Cambodia, and this coldness of the king will be explained.

The matters in Malacca were assuming every day a worse disposition because Terrenate was openly making war on its neighbor Tidore, and the Portuguese therein, and had admitted a few vessels which had lately arrived through India from the islands of Holandia and Zealand on their trading activities, and by their means they had sent an envoy to England and the Principality of Orange regarding peace, trading and commerce with the English and the Dutch, from which country she had received favorable answers and she was, therefore, awaiting a large fleet of vessels from England and said islands. With these favors, she was expected to achieve great things to the detriment of Tidore and the Philippine Islands. In the meantime, she had some Flemish and Englishmen in Terrenate who had remained there as hostages, together with a technician who had participated in the trading of spices (cloves) they having brought one with them, good and well-made arms with which to purchase said spices which are very abundant in the Island of Terrenate. The King of Tidore and the Senior Captain thereof used to communicate every year with the Governor of the Philippine Islands, reporting whatsoever was transpiring there so that the situation might be remedied and that proper help be sent to them. On one occasion, Cachilcota[1] brother of the king of Tidore, a great soldier who enjoyed the greatest reputation in all Malacca, came to Manila on the King's behalf for such purpose. He was always more than anything else, was that we, the Spaniards, should make a deliberate expedition to Terrenate[2] before the English and the Dutch came with the fleet which they expected any time. However, it was not possible to make said expedition without His Majesty's order, and taking many precautions and making considerable preparations for such undertakings. We always remembered Tidore. Lately, during the incumbency of Don Francisco Tello, Captain Marcos Diaz de Febra came again with letters to the Governor and the *Audiencia*, making this request in behalf of the King and the Senior Captain Rui Gonzales de Sequeira, and reporting what was happening, and their present needs, at least that of sending help to Tidore. The King especially wrote to Dr. Antonio de Morga with whom he customarily corresponded — the letter which now follows, in the Portuguese language and included in his own:

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[1] *Kachil Kota; Kachil* is a title of nobility. *Kota* or *Kuta* means fortress.

[2] These enmities of the sultants of Tidore and Terrenate so wisely fomented by the Europeans, especially by the Portuguese, Spaniards, and Dutch, were the cause of the subjugation of the Moluccas.

"TO DOCTOR MORGA OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS FROM THE KING OF TIDORE:

> *The Letter of Your Worship, dated the 8th day of November last, gave me exceeding pleasure and showed to me especially Your Worship's great sincerity in remembering me and my fortune; and for all this, may God recompense you with a prolonged life and great prosperity in the service of my lord, the King. I comprehend that he keeps Your Worship in those islands with the desire to improve your state; and I do not fail to see that this amounts to the same thing, that is, a remedy for our Island and bastion of Tidore. I have written to the Governor and the* Audiencia *regarding the aid which I am praying for, considering that I have begged for it so often, because it is so important to send it here, as the evil may be thereby hindered, otherwise, it will be so detrimental to our lord the King. Please accommodate me in this matter, at least in so far as it may be needed by this fortress, as all this will redound to the service of God and to my lord the King, May God preserve Your Worship's life for many years. From this Island of Tidore, on this the 8th day of March in this year sixteen hundred and one. The King of Tidore. The bearer hereof, Marcos Dias will deliver to Your Worship, a latten brass-flagon of Moorish workmanship which I am sending Your Worship, so that you will remember your friend."*[1]

Marcos Dias returned to Tidore during the first monsoon in the early part of the year sixteen hundred and two, bearing an answer to this ambassadorial message and request he made, and the aid of supplies and ammunition and some soldiers,—with which he was satisfied until such time as the desired expedition starting from Manila to Terrenate, could be undertaken.

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[1] Argensola also reproduces this letter, through already in translation, in his *Conquista de las Moluccas.*

CHAPTER SEVEN

The administration of Don Pedro de Acuña, Governor and Court Presiding Justice, and the events taking place therein, until his death about June sixteen Hundred six, after his return from Manila to Malacca, and concluding the conquest of the islands subject to the king of Terrenate.

About the month of May in the year sixteen hundred and two, four vessels arrived in Manila from New Spain, bringing with them a new Governor and Presiding Justice of the *Audiencia Real* named Don Pedro de Acuña, Knight of the Order of St. John, Commander of Salamanca, who was an outgoing Governor of Carthage in the mainland. He was received by the Government here to the great contentment of the entire country, owing to the existing need here of a ruler who was experienced in the science of war, as well as a vigilant and a careful Governor.[1] Don Francisco Tello, his predecessor, awaiting the time he was to cease in the Governorship, decided to remain in Manila until the following year sixteen hundred and three; and about the month of April thereof, he died of an acute disease. Seeing that matters needed so much endeavor in their adjustment, and there being so scant means in the Royal Exchequer with which to do so, the new Governor considered that his fortune was not so rosy as he had thought it to be at the time he was appointed, inasmuch as the present situation compelled him to endanger his reputation at the earliest possible chance, the matters being beyond his control. He summoned his courage as well as he could, and without much regarding the inconvenience to his person in everything he did. He commenced to take up the things he had on hand in Manila, and the surrounding communities, by ordering the building of galleys and other vessels in the shipyards, of which there was great need, defending our seas which were so full of enemies and pirates from other islands, especially the Mindanao Moros. Then he made an effort to personally visit the provinces of the tatooed Visayans soon, in order to look into the needs of said regions, which matter constituted the most important problem. He had to postpone this work for several months, owing to his devoting most of his time to set in order the matters corresponding to Japan and Jolo or Sulu, likewise making ready the vessels which had to be sent to New Spain, all of which things occurred simultaneously and had necessarily to be attended to.

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[1] These words were a severe censure for Mr. Francisco de Tello.

Upon arriving in Manila, Chiquiro, the Japanese, delivered his envoy's message and gift to Governor Don Pedro de Acuña who had been performing the duties of Governor for the last few days, and the matters concerned were discussed at once, and he was at a loss what to say in his answer, as it had to be the most wise and proper one; because on the one hand, the friendship with Daifusama was a valuable and advantageous matter, and it was of utmost importance to promote and obtain the same even if certain difficulties had to be surmounted. Likewise, even if the question of communication and commerce with the Kwanto was of scant importance to the Spaniards, it was not so difficult to satisfy the desire of the Japanese lord, as they could fulfill this desire by sending a single vessel loaded with some merchandise. On the other hand, however, the rest of the petition with regard to commerce and amity with New Spain, and about sending master shipbuilders and yard-officers to build vessels in Japan with which to fill the needs of navigation insisted in by the Daifu and assured by Fr. Gerónimo, it was a horse of a different color, and a serious proposition to accomplish, as it was burdensome and detrimental to the Philippine Islands, for the reason that the greatest protection of said Islands from attack by Japan, lay in the fact that said country had no vessels and did not understand much about navigation. The few times that the Japanese had designs to come and invade Manila, they failed because of this impediment; and now, to send them master shipbuilders and yard-officers to teach them to build Spanish vessels, would be tantamount to furnishing them weapons in which they were lacking, through which to destroy these Islands.[1] Likewise, there were many obstacles to their navigation to New Spain and to their undertaking long voyages, as all these matters involved considerable care and trouble, and were of such a nature and importance that they could not be determined or resolved in Manila without consulting them to His Majesty, whom such matters concerned so deeply. In view that said business had been officially taken cognizance of and recorded, and that it was not proper to keep the Japanese waiting so long for an answer, a fairly-good present was devised and sent for the Daifu through the same vessel which had arrived, consisting of articles from Spain in reciprocation to the one which had been brought from Japan from Friar Gerónimo on behalf of his master. A letter was written to him expressing the pleasure of the Governor in receiving the expression of good will on the part of the Daifu and the peace and amity proffered to the Spaniards, and for everything that he had done for our nationals, with further expression of esteem on our part which we would continue to maintain; and stating that as soon as possible, on this same year, the Governor would send a vessel with several Spaniards, bearing merchandise for the Kwanto according to Daifu's desire. With regard to the matter of navigation desired to be established with New Spain, for which matter he wished that master shipbuilders be sent to build vessels to accomplish said navigation, although the Governor would exert every effort to materialize the same and bring about everything he desired, yet this matter was not within his province, and had to be laid before His Majesty and the Viceroy he had in New Spain, for the reason that he had no power or authority over matters which were outside his administration of the Philippine Islands. He would soon communicate with him, and he hoped that something favorable would be done in this respect, and he prayed the Daifu to be patient until an answer could be received from Spain- which would take three years, as Spain was so far away,—reiterating that he was powerless otherwise as the matter was beyond his power and that he would do his best to accommodate the Daifu. He used the nicest language he could summon in order to stall him and avoid being importuned by him from now on and promising to furnish him such things. Chikiro departed for Japan with this message on the very same vessel which had brought him to Manila. However, said craft was so unfortunate that during the voyage it was dashed against the bulging head of the Hermosa (beautiful) Island, unable to avoid destruction and loss of those on board thereof, and news of the mishap reached Japan and Manila only after many days had elapsed.

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[1] Of the Philippines.

In view of the letters of Friar Gerónimo de Jesus and the news therein contained regarding Japan, also reporting the permission which he claimed to have obtained from Daifu for, not only the barefoot friars of Saint Francis and those of other Orders, of Saint Dominic and Saint Augustine, to make converts to Christianity and to build churches, — these priests did not lose any time to prepare to proceed to Japan; and they all made arrangements with the Japanese vessels and captains which were then in Manila bringing cargoes of flour, and which were to return soon to Japan. Especially active were those of the Order of Saint Dominic, who sent to the kingdom of Zazuma four priests headed by Fr. Francisco de Morales, prior of Manila, on a vessel bound to said Island and province, stating that they had been sent there by its king[1] who was the only one who had not yielded obedience to Daifusama. The Order of St. Augustine sent two priests to the kingdom of Firando on a vessel then lying in that port, the head of whom was Fr. Diego de Guevara, prior of Manila; all of which priests were taking it for granted that they would be received well by the king of said province. The Order of Saint Francis assigned Fr. Agustin Rodriguez who had formerly been in Japan, together with the late martyrs, and a lay brother-friar, all of whom were ordered to the Miaco to be in the company of Fr. Gerónimo de Jesús. Although the Governor met with many difficulties in connection with the so urgent departure of these priests from Manila enroute to Japan, they were not occasioned by them because of the great insistence they exhibited to him in obtaining the permission therefore which they sought. The priests arrived at their various provinces or destinations, and they were received even if with less enthusiasm than what they had expected. They found less comfort in their daily life than was satisfactory. As to the matter of religious conversion in which they had hoped to achieve considerable results, they met with less response than they hoped for, a very few Japanese were inclined towards Christianity, and as a matter of fact, the petty kings, *tones* or lords of those provinces, were more interested in establishing through them, trading and bartering relations with the Spaniards in their lands, which they greatly desired for their own convenience, more than the matter of religion, for which they had no avocation whatever.

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[1] Another pious lie.

To comply with what he had written about sending a vesel to the Kwanto, Governor Don Pedro de Acuña equipped and sent out to sea, a vessel named "*Santiago el Menor*", commanded by a captain and the necessary number of officers and men, together with a quantity of red-wood[1], deer-skins, raw-silk[2] and other articles. The vessel departed with instructions to proceed to the Kwanto, where it would meet barefooted priests of the Order of St. Francis, to dispose of its merchandise and come back with the proceeds of the trade, and the clearance papers of Daifusama, to return to Manila. This appeared to be a proper disposal of Japanese matters according to the prevailing conditions at the time.

Daifusama, Lord of Japan, was waiting for Chikiro his servant whom he had sent to Manila with the letter of Friar Gerónimo de Jesús, and was pressing him so much regarding the things which he desired and concerning which he had discussed with him for his satisfaction. Seeing that said Chikiro's return was overdue, and that no reasons were valid enough to said Lord to explain such delay, the friar requested his leave to go to Manila in person where he would personally enter into and conclude negotiations with the Governor and would bring with him an answer. He would leave in the Court, Fr. Agustin Rodriguez and another companion whom they had already held as hostages to secure his return. The Lord granted his request. Fr. Gerónimo proceeded shortly to Manila where he learned about the message of which Chikiro had been the bearer. There he commenced his negotiations with the Governor Don Pedro de Acuña and reported to him that Chikiro had not arrived in Japan, and that there were misgivings that he may have been lost on the way. The vessel which the Governor had sent out was unable to turn around the Northern part of Japan in the direction of the North, but arrived in the port of Firando where the priests of the Order of Saint Augustine had recently been established, and anchored there. From there, the captain sent a report to the Court of the Miaco, regarding the reason why the vessel had been unable to reach the Kwanto, likewise the non-arrival of the letters to the priests, as well as the present for the Daifu. The priests-companions of Fr. Gerónimo, delivered to Daifu the presents they brought for him, and apprized them that the vessel had been sent by the Governor for his Lordship's own disposition, but that the same had been prevented by bad weather from reaching the Kwanto. Daifusama received the presents but refused to believe the things he was told, thinking that he was only being entertained with stories with which to divert his mind. He ordered that the merchandize brought by the vessel be disposed of and that the proceed be sent back with some fineries to be delivered to it for this purpose, that is, as a gift for the Governor; and that they proceed to the Kwanto, as had been promised. So, from the latter place, the vessel returned to Manila.

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[1] Probably *Sibukao.*

[2] In those times the Philippines exported silk to Japan from where the best now comes.

Fr. Gerónimo de Jesús arrived so promptly in the Philippines as already mentioned, that he found the opportunity to discuss with Governor Don Pedro de Acuña, regarding the business which had brought him here, obtaining the promise that the negotiations would be resumed and that they would send vessels to the Kwanto in order to entertain and please Daifusama. The Friar was given to convey to Japan a good present, the Governor's offering, consisting of a large costly Venetian mirror, together with glass pieces, Castilian clothes, honey, a few vases[1] and other articles which were designed to please his Lordship. Then Fr. Gerónimo returned to Japan where he was well received by Daifu whom he apprized of what he was bringing with him and that his servant Chikiro had been well treated and then sent off by the new Governor. He told Daifu that no evil could have been done to him, but that he must have been lost on the way back, since he did not arrive to the present time. Then he deliverd to Daifu what he was bringing for him, which afforded the Daifu considerable pleasure.

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[1] These might be the precious ancient jars which even now are found in the Philippines. Of dark brown color Chinese and Japanese esteem them very much and about which Morga tells us chapter VIII. See the note.

During the first days of his performance of duties as Governor, Don Pedro de Acuña found in the navy-yard of Cavite two large vessels which were being completed for the purpose of sending them that year to New Spain. The first belonged to Don Luis Dasmariñas, and had been assigned by agreement with his predecessor in office, Governor Don Francisco Tello, to carry cargoes of merchandise; and the other named the "*Espíritu Santo*" had been built by Don Juan Tello de Aguirre, and other residents of Manila, and was to make the customary voyage carrying the merchandise of that year on account of the constructors of the same, to new Spain, the said galleon to remain there upon its arrival to be assigned to the service of His Majesty, pursuant to contract made with Governor Don Francisco Tello himself. Don Pedro de Acuña was in such haste to dispatch and clear the two vessels that he did so immediately after loading them with the merchandise they were to carry, — on the early part of July of the same year sixteen hundred and two, Don Lope de Ulloa sailing on the "*Espíritu Santo*" as General, and Don Pedro Flores as commander of the "*Jesus María.*" Both proceeded on their voyage on thirty-eight degrees latitude and they experienced great storms and were on the point of getting lost, and had to jettison much of their cargo. The vessel "*Jesus María*" arrived in Manila with difficulty and spent over forty days on the Island of Ladrones, unable to proceed any further, at which locality it had the chance of gathering all the Spaniards who survived the disaster of the vessel "*Santa Margarita,*" among them being Father Juan Pobre, who had left the galleon "*Santo Tomas*" when it had called there on the previous year, in order to board a native boat, also five other Spaniards who had been scattered among other Islands belonging to the Ladrones group who could not come, notwithstanding efforts to have them gathered and brought over. The natives brought Fr. Juan Pobre and the others on their native boats, with great charity and good will. After they had been entertained and regaled on the galleon, which they boarded without any fear, and given iron goods and other presents, they left weeping and showing signs of great sorrow over their loss of the Spaniards. With the same difficulties as before, the vessel "*Espiritu Santo*" arrived in Japan, as it could not do otherwise — cutting down its foremast, and entered the port of Firando, twenty leagues away from where the friars of Saint Augustine who had gone there from Manila and established themselves at that place, it also being the port where the vessel which had been bound for the Kwanto, had entered. The harbor was amenable to sounding, although it was difficult to enter and leave, for the reason that it had a winding channel having high rocky formations on both sides thereof. However, the difficulties were lessened by the Japanese natives who steered and took the vessel in tow to the harbor with their *funes* or native boats. Once inside the port, the Japanese stationed some guards on the vessel and the few Spaniards who had landed, were not allowed to return to their vessel. The provisions which they furnished to the Spaniards were not sufficient to cover all needs, neither did they sell them at reasonable prices. For the reason that many soldiers had suddenly arrived from the surrounding country, and repeatedly asked the general to give them the sails of the vessel, which the general always refused — he came to fear that they desired to take away from him both the vessel and merchandise, as had happened in the port of Hurando with the vessel "*San Felipe*" in the year ninety-six. From then on, the general became more cautious and watchful, and did not leave the vessel nor allow the men to leave it, nor unload any of the merchandise on board. In view of this, he sent to the Miaco his brother Don Alfonso Ulloa with Don Antonio Maldonado carrying a reasonable present for Daifusama, praying him to order that they be given provisions and permitted to clear from that port, and also to restrain the local captains and pilots who had not been contented with whatever presents were given to them out of consideration for them, but would take forcibly whatever they saw and desired, giving to understand that everything belonged to them, and that they could have them all in their possession very soon. Friar Diego de Guevara, an Augustinian who was in Firando as prelate, came on board the vessel and told the general that he had come to an evil port of Infidels, with people so bad that eventually they would rob and take the vessel. He advised him to exert every effort he could muster, to take the vessel away from there, and go to anchor in Firando where he resided, and that in the meantime, he be as watchful and careful as he could. The friar then left to return to his post with a few pieces of silk for his new church and monastery of Firando, but he was despoiled of everything by the Japanese, claiming that it all belonged to them; so he had to leave for home empty-handed. There were on land about a dozen and a half of Spaniards from the vessel who had been deprived of freedom of action and were not allowed to return to the vessel. Although the general notified said countrymen that he had decided to leave that port in whatever way he could, and that they should make every effort to come on board, not all were enabled to do this, and only five of them managed to come back. After having driven away from the vessel, the Japanese guards placed thereon, bending the foremast and the sails and loading the artillery-piece and making ready the small arms,—one morning, without waiting any further, the vessel made ready to weigh anchor and set sail. There were some Japanese guarding the mouth of the channel with many boats and arquebuses, who had extended a twisted rattan-cable across the channel, from one side to the other to prevent passage of the vessel. The general sent out a detail on a small boat accompanied by six musketeers, to find out what they were doing, who, upon coming near were fired upon by some of the native boats for the purpose of seizing them, and the Spaniards defended themselves with their own arquebuses and returned to their vessel and reported the matter to the general and that the Japanese were impeding the exit from the port by means of a cable. This was considered a bad sign. Then the vessel hoisted her sails with a view to break the cable by force; and a Negro who had been offered his freedom by the general, undertook to station himself at the bow and cut off the cable with a cutlass, as soon as they came to it.

They cleaned out the channel of all boats, *funes*, etc. impeding the same by means of their artillery and their arquebuses; and upon coming to the cable, in view of the force which the vessel carried with her, plus the good assistance given by the Negro with his cutlass, said cable broke off, and the vessel sailed through. Many turns of the winding channel had yet to be negotiated before reaching the open seas, and it seemed impossible for the vessel sailing in haste, to accomplish it. However, God permitted her to make them all, as if a particular wind had been devised for each turn. However, they were not spared further annoyance, as a great number of Japanese had gathered along the ridges and hills on top, which the vessel passed below within range of muskets with which the Japanese molested them, with volleys from their muskets which killed one Spaniard and wounded several in the vessel. Those on the vessel likewise did the same damage, killing some Japanese with their artillery, who could not help being cheated of a good prize such as the Spanish vessel. Seeing himself on the open seas, the general now free from the past dangers, and that the North wind was blowing favorably, concluded that it was more advantageous to venture out toward Manila, than to seek another port in Japan. Having available a winch to use in the place of the broken foremast, and as the North wind blew better every day, he crossed the seas toward Luzon, around the Cape of Bojeador, and reached the mouth of Manila Bay were they found the vessel "*Jesus María*" which had likewise arrived in distress through the Cabul Channel; and, together, just as they had departed from the port of Cavite five months ago, they now entered at the same time, compelled by the inclement weather after having suffered much danger and loss of valuable cargo which had been jettisoned.

While the preceding events were happening in the aforementioned port where they had left the vessel "*Espíritu Santo*," Don Alfonso de Ulloa and Don Francisco Maldonado reached the Miaco and presented their credentials and the gift to Daifusama, who, upon learning their identity and that they had come from Manila, and also regarding the arrival of the vessel in Japan, he received them well and immediately gave them clearance papers and official passes, in order that the *tones* or lords and governors of the provinces which the vessel entered, should give them proper clearance, and so that the residents there should deal properly with them regarding provisions, by giving them an ample supply thereof, and so that the people should restore to them whatever they may have taken from them, whether in small or large quantities.

While discussing the message of the envoy, news reached the Miaco regarding the departure of the vessel from the port, as already stated, and the subsequent conflict which ensued between the Spaniards and the Japanese, of which they again complained to Daifu. He exhibited regret over the departure and difficulties experienced by the vessel and the excesses of the Japanese, and again issued new passes or orders to the effect that all the clothing taken from the Spaniards be returned to them, together with an execution-sword or *katana* with which to mete out justice[1] to all those who had committed guilt, directing that the Spaniards remaining in the port, be freed and their belongings restored to them. Once in possession of these orders, the Spaniards departed from that port and recovered what they had been deprived of. The envoys and the others returned enroute to Manila on the next vessels leaving Japan for said city, bringing with them eight clearance-passes issued by Daifusama, in order that in whatever port in Japan the Spanish vessels should henceforth arrive from Manila, they be welcomed and received well, free from any annoyance. Upon arriving in Manila they delivered the said clearance-passes to the Governor, who, likewise, issues similar ones to vessels which sail for New Spain, for whatever emergency might happen to them during the voyage.

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[1] Perhaps to perform the hara-kiri, or rather the opening of the abdomen, a punishment used by the ancient Japanese. It consisted of making the criminal make an incision in the abdomen, afterwards sinking the knife in the breast or above the clavicle to run through the heart and his sponsor cuts off his head with a stroke of the sword.

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At about the time when Governor Don Pedro de Acuña assumed his executive duties, there arrived from Jolo, Captain and sergeant-major Pedro Cotelo de Morales, bringing the letter and dossier from Juan Juarez Gallinato, concerning the conditions prevailing in said Island, to which he had sailed with a fleet in the early part of the year. The Governor desiring, in view of the importance of the matter concerned, to which his best efforts had been directed, determined to send him supplies and aid in the way of reinforcements, as soon as it was possible to do so. He ordered that Gallinato should at least make strong efforts to punish the enemy if not achieve better results in this connection, if conditions permitted, and that he should then go and do the same thing to the Mindanao River Moros, then turn around to the land of the tattooed natives. When the instructions reached Jolo, Captain Gallinato was already so exhausted and his men so ill, that all the supplies and reinforcements that were now sent from Manila, only served to enable him to depart from there. Without providing for anything in particular, he broke camp and burned the forts he had built and sailed away to the Visayas, thus leaving the Moros of this island of Jolo and their Mindanao neighbors, with greater courage and nerve to swoop down on the Visayas and the interior regions thereof, as they did in fact subsequently.

Without detaining himself any further in Manila, the Governor proceeded in haste to the island of Panay, *villa* of Arevalo, on board a galliot, accompanied by some smaller craft to make an inspection on the spot to see their needs in order to remedy the same, leaving the affairs of state in Manila which had been entrusted to him by the Royal *Audiencia*, in the hands of Licentiate Don Antonio de Rivera, an auditorr of said *Audiencia.*

After the departure of the Governor from Manila, the said auditor had his hands full in the way of trouble, because a fleet of thirty Moro vintas and other Mindanao native craft raided the Islands as far as that of Luzon and its coasts: These vintas, after having seized a few sailing-craft coming from Cebu to Manila, captured among others, ten Spaniards, including a woman and a priest and also Captain Martin de Mendia, taking these with them. They entered Calilaya where they set fire to the church and the whole town and took as captives many natives of all classes. From there they went to the town of Valayan[1] to do the same thing. In view of the news which the auditor received regarding the enemy, he provided for the defense of Manila by assigning fifty Spaniards, a captain and some vessels, thanks to which the Moros did not venture to enter the city nor even the bay, but they crossed the sea toward Mindoro, where they took as captives from the principal settlements, a great number of native men, women and children, taking from them their gold and clothes, and burning their houses and church and where they seized the church rationer Padre Corral, priest of the locality. With all of these things, captives, gold and clothes, the Moros filled their vintas and other craft they had seized there. They stayed in the port of Mindoro with such leisure as if they were in their own locality,—only twenty-five leagues away from Manila. Captain Martin de Mendia, a prisoner of these pirates, offered in his own behalf and that of the other Spanish captives, that, if he were allowed to go to Manila, he would bring the ransom for everybody and then go with the Moros, or send the ransom there within six months to the Mindanao River; and if he failed to do this, he would return to give himself up and submit to their power.[2] The chief who commanded the Moro pirates agreed to this arrangement and caused the other captives to write the same in order that they may be fulfilled; after which, he allowed the Captain to leave the vinta-fleet. He came to Manila with his story in view of which the auditor sent to Balayang, ammunition, vessels and more men than those who remained there, with instructions that without any loss of time, they go after the enemy in Mindoro where they would find him without fail. Captain Gaspar Perez, who was in charge of the matter in Balayang, failed to depart as soon as he ought to, so as to find the enemy in Mindoro. When he arrived there, the enemy had already left six days before, carrying many vessels and spoils back to Mindanao. The Captain started to follow in pursuit of the enemy taking his time. In the meantime, the enemy had entered with his fleet, a river in a small uninhabited island to get a supply of water and firewood. The Governor, Don Pedro de Acuña, happened on this occasion to pass by unconcerned, with wto small *sampans* and a *virey*-type of craft with few companions, coming from the *Villa* of Arevalo, where he had had news about the entry of the pirates,—so close to the mouth of the river where the latter were loading up, and it was indeed a wonder that he was not seen by them and made the enemy's captive. The Governor learned of the presence of the pirates through a native banca which was escaping from the area, and furthermore, he now met Gaspar Perez who was searching for the enemy with twelve vintas and virey-type boats plus some large *sampans*. Said Governor told him to make greater haste, and gave him some of the men he had so that they would lead Perez to the river-mouth where they had just left the pirates the previous day; and then Perez found the pirates. Through certain sentinels they had posted outside the river and on the sea, the pirates learned of the presence of the Spanish fleet and made a hurried exit from the river and escaped, throwing overboard much clothing and many captives in order the better to make a rapid escape, sending back their captain's and admiral's vintas to the assistance of the vintas or boats which lagged behind, making them jettison their loads, and to row and push ahead by using their sails and by swimming. The Spanish fleet which had not so light vessels, was unable to generate more velocity so as to overtake all the Moro pirate boats, as these were sailing inland little fearing the rough seas like all who are sailing in flight, although some of the craft of Captain Gaspar Perez, which, being lighter and more manageable were able to follow inland and mix with the pirate craft, and to sink a few of their vintas and capture two, and could not help but let the rest escape, although in great danger of being lost. Unable to obtain further results, the Spanish fleet returned to Manila where the Governor had already arrived, very regretful that matters had taken such a bad turn, considering that the enemy who formerly had not dared to leave his own house, became now so haughty and courageous, that he dared to venture forth as far as the very gates of the metropolitan City, doing so much damage and making so many seizures and taking so many prizes.[1]

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[1] Balayang.

[2] This Marcus Atilius king of our endless Punic wars, unlike his model, was not consistent in his promise.

Some years back, His Majesty had ordered that Portuguese India should fit out a fleet with which to capture the fort of Terrenate in Malacca which was in the power of a Moor who had tyrannically revolted and seized it after driving away the Portuguese who had occupied it.[2] The necessary preparations were made in India for this expedition, consisting of vessels, ammunition and fighting-men; and for this purpose there was chosen to be general, a nobleman named Andrea Furtado de Mendoza, a soldier quite experienced in Indian affairs who had achieved reputable and famous victories both by land and sea in these parts, and lately he had a very prominent success in Jabanapatan. He sailed from Goa with six galleys of the Kingdom, fourteen galliots, small sailboats and other craft with fifteen hundred fighting-men, supplies and ammunition for the fleet. In view of the foul weather which they met on the way, before they reached Amboine, the fleet was impaired to the extent that the galleys and smaller sailing vessels could not keep up with the galleons or follow them, and only three galleys and smaller craft which were in reserve reached Amboine while the rest arrived in Goa and the other ports of destination in that voyage. The island of Amboine was in rebelion and the Portuguese fort therein in great distress, so that it seemed convenient to Andrea Furtado de Mendoza to pacify the Island and other communities of the region and subject them to the Crown of Portugal, meantime the fleet of galliots and smaller vessels and craft which had been deviated during the journey and had been detained at Amboine eighty leagues from Malacca from which succour had been sought,—did not arrive. This campaign took over six months during which they had repeated encounters with the enemy and rebels, from which Furtado de Mendoza always emerged victorious and reaped the fruits he had aspired to get, placing the island in subjection and duly pacifying the same. However, seeing that his own vessels did not arrive nor the aid of vessels which he had sent for was forthcoming from Malacca and that it was imperative to proceed to Terrenate which was the principal objective for which he had been commissioned in this undertaking and that he counted now with a lesser number of men than he needed and that most of the ammunition and provisions he had brought had been already expended,—he now decided to report to the Governor of the Philippine Island that he had arrived at this place with the fleet, and all he had done in Amboine and that he had to proceed to Terrenate, likewise the fact that part of his fleet had been scattered and he had employed so many months on said missions, and that therefore, he had now a lesser number of men than he wished to have, and was in dire need of some things. He was especially short of provisions, so he requested the Governor to aid and favor him by sending him supplies and ammunition and some Spaniards for the enterprise, considering that the same was of such importance to the service of His Majesty, for which so much had been expended from the Crown of Portugal, and that all of these things should be available at the fort of Terrenate by January of the year sixteen hundred and three when said aid would arrive very much on time. This report and letters to the Governor and the *Audiencia* were dispatched from Amboine, together with Father Andre Pereira of the Society of Jesus and Captain Antonio Fogaza who came on the vessel. In Manila they met Governor Don Pedro de Acuña before whom they laid down their business, availing themselves of the *Audiencia* and the religious Orders, and extolling the greatness of the Portuguese fleet and the prominent people on board the vessels, and the gallantry and good reputation of their general in everything he undertook ,and who certified to the desirability and eventfulness of the capture of Terrenate on this occasion, especially considering the aid and help that would come from Manila as well as that from the Philippine Islands, which would be but justly given, whenever they would be requested by the King of Tidore and the captain-major of said fort, according as His Majesty had ordered the same and with more reason and grounds for this purpose.[1]

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[1] It is sad to think how, despite all these considerations, the state of things had been able to continue thus. For fear of revolts and of losing the power over the islands, the inhabitants were being disarmed, leaving them exposed to all the vexaitons of a powerful and frightful enemy. Even now, that thanks to the steamship, external piracy has been checked ,the same fatal system is followed, disarming peaceful citizens, making it impossible for them to defend themselves against the bandits that the government cannot suppress. The best way to foment banditry is to offer it booty.

[2] Neither Sultan Babu nor Sultan Said had taken possession tyrannically of the fortress. The fortress belonged to Ternate and these sultans were the legitimate masters of the country. Those who tyrannized them were the Portuguese who committed cruelties and treacheries without end. Read Argensola's *Conquista de las Molucas.*

Ever since he was appointed to the position, Don Pedro de Acuña had the intention and desire to undertake an expedition to Terrenate, and he was in Mexico on his way to his destination here, he discussed the matter with those who had any knowledge at all, regarding Malacca; and he even sent from New Spain to His Majesty's Court, lay brother Gaspar Gomez of the Society of Jesus who had been in Manila at the time of Governor Gomez Pedro Dasmariñas to negotiate on his behalf with His Majesty on the matter on hand; thus, he was hopeful that he would eventually undertake this expedition. The Governor even thought it necessary, without manifesting his desire, to heed the demands of Andrea Furtado and even grant him better advantages, in view of the importance of the matter and of the fact by accommodating them so much, the General and his messengers could not have grounds, in the event they did not succeed, for excusing themselves, alleging that they had asked the Governor of the Philippine Islands, but that the latter had not given them sufficiently, because it involved the expedition. Don Pedro de Acuña consulted the matter to the *Audiencia* which gave the opinion that they should send to the Portuguese fleet the said aid for the duration, by bettering their request. Once the resolution was adopted, it was put to execution to the great joy of Father Andrea Pereira and Captain Antonio Fogaza, so that at the end of the year sixteen hundred and two, there were dispatched from the Philippine Islands, together with said persons, the galleon "*Santa Potenciana*" and three large frigates carrying one hundred fifty well-armed soldiers, ten thousand bushels of rice, fifteen hundred jars of palm-tree wine, two hundred salted cows, forty hogsheads of sardines, preservers and medicines, fifty quintals of powder, cannon-balls and arquebuses, ammunition, ropes and other munitions, all, of which being under the charge of the captain and sergeant-major Juan Juarez Gallinato who had already arrived from Jolo and was in the Visayas with orders and instructions on what he was to do, which was to carry all of that aid to Terrenate to the Portuguese fleet which he would find there;[1] also to place himself under the orders of the general of said fleet. He made the voyage in fifteen days and anchored in the port of Talangame in the island of Terrenate, two leagues from the fortress where he found Andrea Furtado de Mendoza who had anchored his galleons and was waiting for the aid which was sent from Manila, all of which pleased him and his men immensely.

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[1] Hernando de los Rios attributes to these wars of the Moluccas the reason why the Philippines at the beginning was more costly than beneficial to the King, in spite of the immense sacrifices of her inhabitants in the almost gratuitous building of galleons, their equipment, *etc.* and in spite of the tributes, customs, and other imposts and duties. These expeditions to he Moluccas, so costly to the Philippines, depopulated the islands and ruined the treasury without bringing any gain to the country which lost forever and in a short time what had been so painfully gained. It is true also that thanks are due to the Moluccas for the preservation of the Philippines to Spain, one of the most powerful reasons alleged to Philip II being the convenience of supporting them for the possession of the rich spice islands.

By the month of March of the year sixteen hundred and three, there entered Manila Bay, a vessel of the great country of China, and the port sentinels reported that three great Mandarins in their insignias, were coming to attend matters of the service of their king. The Governor gave them leave to land and enter the City with their retinue. They were conducted on very curious shoulder-borne chairs or *palanquins* made of ivory and fine woods inlaid with gold, straight to the houses of the Royal *Audiencia* where the Governor was expecting them with a numerous company of captains and soldiers scattered all over the buildings, streets and places they entered or passed by. Upon reaching the gates of the Royal house they alighted from their *palanquins* and entered on foot, leaving on the street their banners, halberds and other showy insignias of various classes which they were bringing along with them, and went up to a great well-decorated Hall where the Governor received them standing up. The Mandarins made such obeisance and curtsies according to their custom to which the Governor responded. They stated through the *naguatates*,[1] that the king was sending them with a Chinese bound in chains, who came with them, to see through their eyes an island of gold which one had informed the king was named Cavite which was close to Manila, which no one possessed. He had also asked for a number of vessels which he would bring back full of gold, and that if this were not true, he should be punished with death. They said that the Mandarins had come to verify the matter on behalf of their king. The Governor answered them in a few words, welcoming them and suggesting that they first retire and rest in two houses in the city which had been prepared for the purpose for their use and that of their men; and that later on they would discuss the matter. After this they left the Royal house and upon reaching the street, they again climbed up their chairs carried on the shoulders of the porters who were dressed in red, and were taken to their quarters where the Governor had provided for them courteously, for the entire period of their stay in the City.

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[1] We already know the motives that moved Mr. Pedro Acuña to help so generously Furtado de Mendoza. However, the conquest not being made for Spain but for Portugal, it was impolitic and risky at that time to employ the armed forces abroad when there was the boldest piracy ever within, precisely taking them away from the Bisayas which were the most exposed.

Beside what Morga relates, there were sent in that expedition 300 Ilocos blankets, 700 *varas** of Castilian woolen, 100 *sail needles*, 30 jars of oil, the expenses for the whole fleet amounting to 22,260 pesos monthly (Argensola, book 8). This expedition, which was unsuccessful, lasted more than six months, spending therefore a total of 135,560 pesos.

* One vara is 2.8 ft.

The visit of these Mandarins appeared to be suspicious and that they had come with a different purpose than that stated by them, for the reason that, for the

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[1] Naguatate, an American term, means interpreter.

Chinese who are so enlightened, to say that their king was sending them on the unseemly errand. it was too absurd and obviously fantastic a proposition. Even among the Chinese themselves who came to Manila at that time on board eight vessels loaded with merchandise, and those presently residing in the City, it was being said that the Mandarins had come to see the land and its disposition, because the King of China desired to cut off trading relations with the Spaniards, and send a strong fleet here before the end of the year, with one hundred thousand men to take the City.

It appeared convenient to the Governor and the *Audiencia* to take care of the security of the City, and to see that these Mandarins be will treated but be not allowed to leave the City or permitted to administer justice, as they were beginning to do, among the local Sangleys or Chinese, for which they felt somewhat frustrated. They were asked to lay their business before the Government, and to leave shortly for China, the Spaniards abstaining from showing any sign of concern about the avowed mission of the Mandarins, or any suspicion of anything different from what they alleged as their purpose. The emissaries again interviewed the Governor who talked to them very clearly, belittling their mission and stated to them that even if what they claimed were true, i.e., that there were such gold in the Philippine Islands, the Spaniards would not allow it to be carted away, because, like the land, it all, belonged to His Majesty the King of Spain. The Mandarins said that they understood what the Governor was telling them, but the fact was that their king had sent them here, and they had necessarily to obey him and endeavor to bring back an answer to him. Once they had complied with their mission, they would depart to their country. In order to shorten matters, the Governor sent the Mandarins with their prisoner and their servants to Cavite, a port two leagues away from the City where they were received with deafening cannon discharges which were deliberately executed, upon their landing therein, which filled them with shock and fear. Then the Mandarins asked the prisoner whether this was the island he mentioned to the king, and he answered that it was, upon which they asked him where the abundant gold was, and he answered that everything they saw around them was gold, and that he would do the right thing to the king. They asked him several things and all of this was recorded for the register, in the presence of some Spanish captains present there with trusted interpreters. After the Mandarins had taken specimens of the soil in order to take them to the king of China, and they had partaken of food and had rested, —they went back to Manila on the same day, together with their prisoner. The interpreters revealed that when the Mandarins had pressed the prisoner to speak the truth, the prisoner had stated that what he meant to say to the king of China, was that there was much gold and wealth in the possession of the natives and the Spaniards of Manila, and that if he were given a fleet and men, he promised as a man who had been in Luzon and who knew the land well,—he would take the land and carry away many vessels full of gold and wealth to China. This intelligence, together with what some Chinese friends had stated at first, furnished considerable food for thought, especially to Fr. Miguel de Benavides, archbishop-elect of Manila, who knew the language and who saw in the matter much more than the Mandarins had signified. In view of this, said prelate and other dignitaries of the church warned the Governor and the whole City both secretly and publicly, to look after the matter of its defense and security, for the reason that they felt certain that the Chinese fleet would shortly attack the City. The Governor promply sent the Mandarins away on the vessel, together with the prisoner after giving them a few pieces of silver and other things with which they were contented. Although the concensus prevailing in the City was that the coming of the Chinese to this land was contrary to reason, the Governor commenced to prepare in a guarded manner, vessels and other means of defense and security, and hastened to finish a general repair which he had commenced of Fort Santiago at the mouth of the river, building a wall with thick interior protection facing the court of arms, which was a great addition to the defense of said fort.

On the latter part of April of the year sixteen hundred and three, on the eve of Saint Philip and Santiago or James, a fire broke out in a small grass-house used by some natives and negroes of the Hospital for the natives in the City, at three o'clock in the afternoon, and it spread to other houses so swiftly through a strong breeze so that many wooden and stone houses were burned down including the Monastery of Saint Dominic, the house, church and Royal hospital of the Spaniards and the Royal warehouses, leaving no building standing. There died by fire fourteen Spaniards, natives and Negroes, among whom were the Licentiate Sanz, priest of the cathedral. All in all, there were burned two hundred and sixty houses and considerable wealth in them, and the losses were estimated at over one million pesos.

As has already been stated, Ocuña Lacsamana, the Malayan Moro, with the aid of the Mandarins of Cambodia, his partisans and those of the foster-mother of King Praunkar had killed and eliminated Blas Ruiz de Hernan Gonzalez and Diego Belloso and the Spaniards, Portuguese and Japanese in the kingdom who followed him—and the subsequent developments were so extensive that he even killed the king himself; so that the entire kingdom was divided into many groups or factions, thus plunging the country into considerable trouble never before experienced, which God, in his wise judgment permitted, for reasons that Praunkar did not deserve to enjoy the good future that fell to his share in being established in the place of his father. He lost not only the throne but his own life. Neither did Blaz Ruiz de Hernan Gonzalez and Diego Belloso and their companions, deserve the fruit of their enterprise and victory, because when they appeared most certain and secure, they became frustrated men because they acted not exactly in accordance with the dictates of conscience as they should have. And neither did God will that the Malayan Moor get away without punishment.

Just when the Malayan believed he would get the lion's share of the Kingdom of Cambodia for having killed the Spaniards and Portuguese, their captains and the legitimate and natural king himself who favored them—the Moor found himself more frustrated than he had ever expected, because the revolts and uprisings on the part of the provinces gave rise to the uniting of some powerful Mandarins of the Kingdom who ruled and maintained the better portion of the land, for the purpose of avenging the death of Praunkar, through armed forces. So they rose up against Ocuña Lacsamana and his Malayans, and engaged them in war, and on several occasions defeated and disorganized them, so that the Moor was compelled to flee with his followers away from Cambodia, that is, with those who were left, and to proceed to Champa, its border, with the purpose of making trouble therein by warring against the tyrant who ruled the same, and seizing the whole portion or as much of it as they could. Even this did not serve him well, because despite the war and disturbance which he had brought upon the country of Champa, causing considerable damage thereto and to the tyrant and his men there, he himself was ruined and finally killed. Thus he paid miserably for his many crimes, in the hands of the former.

The Mandarins of Cambodia seeing themselves free from the Malayan Moor and his followers, and that the kingdom was still in disorder, just as they had left it without any male successor to Praunkar Langara who had died in Laos, they now turned their eyes to a brother of the deceased, of whom the king of Siam had made a captive, and carried around with him in the war he had waged against Langara, and keeping him in the city of Odia; and it appearing to them that he was more entitled to the throne of Cambodia through legitimate succession, so that his presence would pacify the country better. They, therefore, sent an envoy to Siam, praying that the king who was keeping him as a captive, allow the latter to come and reign in the place of the late king. The king of Siam considered the request favorably, and after having a few agreements with his prisoner, gave him freedom and six thousand fighting-men to accompany and serve him.[1] With this force, he speedily came to Cambodia and was eagerly

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(1) As it seems, the king of Siam did not take advantage of this opportunity to impose harsh terms on the king of Cambodia because the latter reigned independently afterwards nor did he take advantage of the state of the kingdom to invade it.

received in Sistor and the provinces, and placed on the throne from which he eventually and gradually pacified and subjected his farthest domains.

The new king of Cambodia who arose from captive to the king of Siam, to reign as king through strange events and unusual circumstances, to whom God had reserved such good fortune bringing other blessings besides, because when He begins He knows how to finish, — caused to search for Juan Diaz, a special soldier who had survived from the company of Blas Ruiz de Hernan Gonzalez, to whom he commissioned to go to Manila and tell the Governor on his behalf that he now reigned on the throne of Cambodia, and to relate what had happened and led to the death of the Spaniards, and regarding his nephew Praunkar who had no fault at all about the matter, and that he acknowledged and recognized the friendship manifested to his brother Langara and his son, by the Spaniards in their greatest need, alleging that he was anxious to continue that friendship and relationshp, and that he now sought the same if the Governor agreed to this matter, in which case, the Governor could send him some priests and Spaniards to attend his court and to make converts among his people, to Christianity, as many of then as would agree to this conversion.

Juan Diaz came to Manila with the commission above mentioned as an envoy bearing many promises and found Don Pedro de Acuña serving as Governor, with whom he discussed the matter. It appearing to the Governor that it was beneficial not to close the avenues to the preaching of the Holy Gospel in Cambodia which God had willed to open again through these means, he decided to grant what the king requested. Thus in the beginning of the year sixteen hundred and three, he dispatched a frigate to Cambodia carrying four priests of the Order of St. Dominic, with Fr. Iñigo de Santa Maria, prior of Maila, as their chief, together with five soldiers to accompany them, with Juan Diaz himself. They were to answer the king in confirmation of his petition for peace and friendship which he was seeking, and, according to this disposition, the priests were to remain in court and to report to the Governor how they were making out there. The frigate reached Cambodia in good weather after ten days voyage, and the priests and soldiers accompanying them, arrived in Chordemuco, and were received by the king with gladness. Afterwards he built them a church, and issued rice to them for their support and granted them freedom to preach and convert people to christianity. To the priests, the matter seemed to be the business of heaven, in which many servers could be employed. Then they sent a report to Manila on their good reception and treatment, the communication going on the same frigate, and requested the king to clear and allow the same frigate to return to Manila. The king gave the clearance order and also the necessary provisions for the voyage. He also sent a servant of his bearing a present of ivory tusks, benzoin and other novelties, for the Governor, together with the king's own letter to the Governor, thanking him for the favor done to him, and asked for still more priests and Spaniards. Friar Iñigo de Santa Maria took the same frigate with a companion in order to give a better verbal report of what they had found in Cambodia but unfortunately, he died from illness during the voyage. The priest's companion and the others coming in the frigate, reached Manila about May sixteen hundred and three, and reported everything that had happened in Cambodia.

At the end of the month of May, there arrived in Manila two vessels coming from New Spain with Don Diego de Zamudio as general, bringing the regular aid for the Philippine Islands. News were received that there remained in Mexico, Friar Diego de Soria of the Order of St. Dominic, Bishop of Cagayan, who was to bring the Bulls and the pallium for the archbishop-elect of Manila, likewise Fr. Baltasar de Cobarrubias of the Order of St. Augustine, Bishop of Camarines, owing to the demise of Fr. Francisco de Ortega. There came on the same vessels, two auditors for the *Audiencia* of Manila, Licentiates Andres de Alcaraz and Manuel de Madrid y Luna.

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Captain and sergeant-major Juan Jimenez Gallinato had proceeded to Malacca on the "*Santa Potenciana*", with all those aboard it, carrying the aid which had been promised to the Portuguese fleet which Andrea Furtado had brought, with which to attack the fort of Terrenate, Gallinato meeting said fleet at the port of Telangame; and as soon as this aid had been delivered to him, said Andrea Furtado had landed his Spaniards and Portuguese and six artillery pieces, sailing around said fort for the purpose of emplacing a battery. It took him two days to reach the fort area passing through difficult rolling terrain which the enemy had fortified well. Upon arriving at the principal fortress itself, he had considerable trouble in emplacing the artillery pieces, as the enemy made frequent sallies to the open field, in order to hamper Furtado's men. Once the enemy had reached the emplacement ground proper they would have caused considerable damage, had not the Spaniards nearest to the entrance prevented the same; in fact they pressed the Moors so hard that at the price of the death of a few who were shot from the rear, they entered and shut themselves in the fortress and emplaced five artillery pieces, within cannon range. The enemy had sufficient men to defend its position with considerable artillery and ammunition, and caused much damage to our camp, whereas the Spanish pieces of artillery hardly produced any effect, besides having scant powder and ammunition. For this reason, when Gallinato and his men came in contact with the Portuguese fleet, they realized that Andrea Furtado had very insufficient supplies and equipment, considering the great task he had to accomplish, and this was soon proven. Andrea Furtado having obtained the advise of the officers of his camp and the navy, and in order not to lose all his men, he withdrew his pieces of artillery and his camp and transferred them to the port of Talangame. He embarked his men on his galleon and sailed around the forts and islands of Amboine and Vanda, where he had formerly been, obtaining for the maintenance of the fleet, the provisions which Gallinato had brought for him. He allowed the latter to return to Manila with his Spaniards in the company of Rui Gonzales de Sequeira the ex-captain-major of the fort of Tidore who boarded another vessel with his household and the furniture and fixtures of the fort. They arrived in Manila on the early part of July in the year sixteen hundred and three, bearing the following letter of General Andrea Furtado de Mendoza, to the Governor Don Pedro de Acuña, as follows:

> *"LETTER sent by General Andrea Furtado de Mendoza to Don Pedro de Acuña, dated in Terrenate on the twenty-fifth of March, in the year sixteen hundred and three.*
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> *"The world does not offer misfortunes "however great they may be, that do not likewise bring some good with them. In the midst of those I have gone through in this expedition—and they are infinite—I have come to know the loyalty and zeal with which Your Excellency served His Majesty, for which I am envious of you, and consider you my lord, and I now confess that what I shall value most in this life is that Your Excellency will consider me as your servant. I request you to entrust me with any private matter in which I may serve you.*
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> *"The aid which Your Excellency has sent me arrived on time thanks to Divine favor, because said aid had given to His Majesty a fleet and preserved the lives of all of us who have survived. From the events which have happened. His Majesty will understand how much he owes Your Excellency and how little he is indebted to the captain of Malacca inasmuch as he was to blame for the failure to serve His Majesty properly. When the aid which Your Excellency sent me arrived the fleet had no ammunition, because it had departed from Goa two years before, and the ammunition and supplies had all been exhausted and expended on such occasions as had presented themselves to the fleet. With this presumption, and in order that it may be imagined that I was lax in doing my duty in serving His Majesty. I may say that I landed on the area and recovered a part of the same, and caused the enemy to lose considerable men; and I built the rear trenches on the ground, one hundred paces from the enemy fortification. I emplaced five heavy pieces of artillery and in ten days of cannon-battering, a large piece of the fortress was broken down, where most of the strength lay. The remaining powder of the fleet was consumed during those days, until there was absolutely no powder for the artillery to use even for once. I have no doubt that if we had met any Dutch fleet, I would necessarily have had to fight it. This was the principal reason why I raised the siege even when the enemy was hard pressed not only by hunger, but by the death of many of his captains and men in the course of the struggle. By this, Your Excellency may be able to judge the precarious position in which I can be with my feelings and peace disturbed, and may God be praised for every-*

thing, as He has been so served, in permitting that the worst enemies in these parts be among the very vassals of His Majesty.

"I am leaving for Amboine to see if I can find assistance there, and if I find sufficient aid—and there being at present no urgent emergency in the South—I shall be back to my enterprise and report about the matter to Your Excellency. If I do not find there the aid which I am seeking, I shall proceed to Malacca to rearm myself, and shall always communicate with Your Excellency from whatever place I may be. I am writing to His Majesty and giving him a long report of the details of the enterprise, telling him that no efforts can be effective unless an order be given by Your Excellency and your Government for an increased aid or assistance, considering that India is so far away and unable to help in the enterprise. Your Excellency will please communicate with His Majesty accordingly, in order that he may not be disappointed in the matter of Mallacca. I trust in God and shall be Your Excellency's soldier.

"I find no words with which to plead to you and to thank Your Excellency for so many favors extended to me, all of which have been related to me by Antonio de Brito Fogaza and my servant Tomas de Araux. These are things that cannot be served out or paid for, but must be compensated by endangering one's life, honor and wealth on every occasion that may present itself in the service of Your Excellency, and once the chance presents itself, Your Excellency will understand that I am not ungrateful for the favors received, the greatest of which and the one I most appreciated being Your Excellency's aid sent to me through Juan Xuarez Gallinato and Don Tomas de Acuña and other captains and soldiers. It would be an endless effort to signify to Your Excellency the gratitude of each one in particular involved.

"Juan Juarez Gallinato is a man on whom Your Excellency may greatly depend in every occasion which may present itself, because he is equal to any emergency. In this expedition and undertaking, he conducted himself so efficiently, exerted so much effort and prudence, that it is clear that he was verily a person sent by Your Excellency, who has served under the direction of many eminent captains. Thus I shall be pleased to know that Your Excellency shall grant him many considerations for the service he has rendered to His Majesty in these parts, and on my account. The matter which has pleased me so much in this enterprise which is bound to linger long in our memory, is that it has broken the old Portuguese tradition, because in the course of this campaign, the

Spaniards and the Portuguese have refrained from speaking louder than one another, both parties eating out of a single platter, as it were. However, Your Excellency may attribute this to your good fortune and to the great understanding and experience of Juan Juarez Gallinato.

"In this campaign, Don Tomas did not exhibit the nature of a gentleman of his young age, but the qualities of an old soldier, ripe in experience. Your Excellency may expect much from this relative, because I am confident that he will follow his father's footsteps.

"The sergeant-major conducted himself in the campaign, as a very good soldier. He is a man Your Excellency may expect a great deal from, because I can assure that Manila has not a better soldier than he. I shall esteem it greatly if Your Excellency will honor him, and show him special considerations on my account.[1] *Captain Villagra performed his duty very well, and so did Don Luis. In fact, all functioned as one soldier big and small (tambien)*[2] *in this enterprise, and for this reason, I am deeply obligated to them, and, oh, would to God that I were before His Majesty, in order to remain kneeling down before him until all these men are given honors and favors which they deserve! I shall accordingly be particularly glad that all of them in general, be the recipient of Your Excellency's honors and favors. May the Lord guard Your Excellency for many years. This is the wish of your servant. Dated in the port of Talangame, Island of Terrenate, this the twenty-fifth day of March in the year sixteen hundred and three. ANDREA FURTADO MENDOZA"*

On the tenth day of July of the same year, the vessels "*Espíritu Santo*" and "*Jesus María*" departed from the port of Cavite enroute to New Spain, behind two other smaller vessels which had gone ahead fifteen days previously, carrying the periodical cargo of merchandise from the Philippine Islands. The general in command was Don Lope de Ulloa. On board the "*Espíritu Santo*" designated as the admiral's vessel, there likewise departed from the Islands, Doctor Antonio de Morga who was to serve as justice of the Court of Mexico. Before leaving the bay, the wind blew strongly against the prows of

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(1) According to what is deduced from Argensola's account, relating this enterprise minutely, these praises of Gallinato were not exaggerated but very well deserved. Throughout the campaign, he was not only a prudent and brave leader but also a good soldier who did not scorn the hardest tasks that have to be done in a place. It was Gallinato who opposed most the abandonment of this enterprise, writing a long reasoning against the opinion of Furtado de Mendoza.

(2) *Tan bien* (So well.)

both vessels from three o'clock in afternoon until the following morning. Although they managed to drag along their anchors on the bottom of the sea through two thick cables, protected by land, with foremasts down, sailing slowly along the coast in a troubled sea, in heavy weather and dark skies, they foundered on the coast of Pampanga, ten leagues from Manila. The weather continued thus for three continuous days, so that it was deemed impossible for them to undertake the voyage, as the seasons for this was already past for large and well loaded vessels like them which were in deep sea-mud. Then they sent an advice to Manila by overland messenger, and the city sent over some Chinese vessels, cables and anchors, and after much effort and work on them, both vessels working separately through the proper equipment and cables tied to their sterns, awaiting the tides and making proper use of capstans and men applied to the poops and pulling and towing, —the vessels were dragged away for a distance of over one league through mud-fields which they had entered, until the craft could float, on St. Magdalene's day, the twenty-second day of July. Afterwards, they again set sail for New Spain as the vessels did not suffer any damage nor take in any water, in not so adverse weather, until the coast of said country was reached. On the tenth day of November, and in the sight of land, on forty-two degrees latitude, the vessel "*Espíritu Santo*" suffered a stiff wind coming from the South-west bringing with it heavy rains, hail and cold which prevailed along the coast, so that the vessel was often in danger of being lost and in great difficulty, its rigging in disorder, its sails down, and the men worn out and suffering cold. The adverse weather continued until the twenty-second day of November, and on the morning of this day, and while the vessel was crossing the waters with topsail down, it was struck by a heavy downpour of rain and sleet ,in extreme darkness. Its principal mast in the middle of the vessel was hit by lightning which killed three men and injured and disabled eight other persons, then it burned the hatchway and lighted up the principal sails, and showed the interior of the vessel. Then another bolt of lightning struck the same principal mast in the midst of the men, and knocked sixteen persons, some of whom lost their speech and senses throughout that day, and then it went out through the vessel's pump-dale. On the following day, the wind changed in a North-northwesterly direction and filled the sails of the vessel which sailed along the coast with considerable roughness until the nineteenth day of December, when it arrived in the port of Acapulco where it met with the two smaller vessels which had departed earlier from Manila. Three days later, General Don Lope de Ulloa entered the same port of Acapulco in his vessel "*Jesus María*" after having experienced the same adverse weather as the "*Espíritu Santo*". Since they had separated from each other at the channel of Capul in the Philippine Islands, they had not seen each other during the whole voyage.

On the same year sixteen hundred and three, Governor Don Pedro de Acuña dispatched the vessel "*Santiago*" from Manila to Japan, with merchandise and orders to make a trip to the Kwanto in order to comply with the will and pleasure of Daifusama, on board which went four priests, the most important ones in their respective Orders in Manila, who came in view of the death of Father Geronimo de Jesus. They were Fr. Diego de Bermeo, who had been provincial head, Fr. Alonso de la Madre de Dios, and Fr. Luis Sotelo with another companion.

After the vessels "*Jesus María*" and "*Espíritu Santo*" had departed for New Spain, and the vessel "*Santiago*" for Japan, bearing the priests for the latter country, the matter which had caused such commotion upon the coming of the Mandarins from China was to be attended to more thoroughly. There was considerable opportunity to discuss the same, for the reason that there was less pressure to take up other matters. The pervading thought of the moment was to beware of the *Sangleys* or Chinese. The suspicion prevailed that they would come up with some unexpected matter detrimental to the country, as the Archbishop and some prelates maintained it and so alleged, both in secret and openly. At this time, there existed in Manila and its environs, a great number of Chinese, some of whom were baptized Christian converts, in the districts of Baibai[1] and Binondo, on the opposite bank of the river by the side of the Walled City, most of whom however being Infidels, who were occupied or employed in said districts and in the stores of Parian or Chinatown of the City, engaged in business and other trades. Most of these were fishermen, stonemasons, coal vendors, porters, brick-layers and laborers. There was always greater confidence in the traders and merchants, who belonged to a better and more responsible class of people, who were more settled and secure by reason of their considerable property and belongings. As to the others, there was scarce confidence in them, even if they were Christianized citizens, for the reason that being indigent and covetuous, they were more inclined to make any kind of trouble or disturbance resulting in harm. However, it was ever believed that they would not dare to make any rebellion unless a fleet should come from China with determination to attack, on which they could depend. The discussion of the matter increased every day, likewise the corresponding apprehension, as even some Chinese either Infidel or Christian, would report an impending uprising just to justify their friendship to the Spaniards and thus free themselves from suspicion; and other events would happen in the community along these lines of thought. These things would appear to the Governor as purely fictitious and only exaggerations on the part of these aliens; and he would not give these reports much serious credit. On the other hand, he did not relax his caution but would watch with great care and prudence just in case something of the sort would occur. He always saw to it that the city be well guarded, and the soldiers be well armed, and the important Chinese merchants and proprietors well entertained, giving security to their persons and their property, and warning the natives of Pampanga and other granary-provinces of the country, to always supply the city with rice and other provisions, and urging the people to come and aid the city with their persons and arms whenever the necessity for this should arise. He likewise did the same thing with the Japanese in the City, inasmuch as the matter was being

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(1) The present town of San Nicolás, San Fernando, *etc.* situated between Binondo and the sea.

discussed quite openly, as it could not be done otherwise, considering that so many people had to be treated and handled. Thus, many people on both sides of the fence came to really believe that the matter was certain. and some even wished that it would materialize in order that they could take advantage of the confused situation.[1] Thus, the people both in the City and in the suburbs where the Chinese were scattered, began to abuse them by word and deed, and they were often deprived of their belongings by the natives even by the Japanese and the soldiers who mistreated them and called them dogs and traitors, telling them that it was well known that they were preparing to rise up, but they would be disposed of, and this very soon, also that the Governor was taking preventive measures in this connection. This was sufficient for the Chinese to act correspondingly, against their own desires.[2] Some more clever and covetuous aliens took it upon themselves to arouse the minds of their fellows and to constitute themselves as their leaders who endeavored to convince them that their perdition was certain anyway, considering the determination of the Spaniards, unless they snatched from them the initiative, seeing that the Chinese were so numerous, they should attack the City and take it; that this would not be difficult to do, and to kill the Spaniards and despoil them of their wealth, and lord it over the land, with the assistance and aid that would arrive from China as soon as they learned there of the good beginning achieved in this matter. In order to do this in time, it was necessary to build a fort and quarters in some secret and safe place, not far from the City, where they could gather together and meet, and that arms and provisions for the war be provided, as at least this would protect their persons from the harm that they were bound to receive fom the Spaniards.

It was learned that the principal actor in the development of this drama, was a Chinese oldtimer named

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(1) This observation of Morga could be applied to many other uprisings that occurred later, not only of the Chinese but also of the Filipinos, and as it seems, can be applied even to many others that with time may be forged.

(2) These tricks of which certain persons make use to excite people to rebellion are the most efficacious to carry out such movements. If you want your neighbor's dog to be enraged, announce that it is rabid, says a proverb.

Juan Bautista de Vera[1] who was rich and a favorite with the Spaniards, feared and respected by the Chinese, and who had been many times their governor, who had many godsons and dependants, and he was quite hispanized, quite energetic and capable. At this time, he hardly left the City or the houses of the Spaniards, in order to conceal his duplicity and caution, and to avoid making he Spaniards the least suspicious of his activities. He and his trusted one; directed the movement from the City in order the better to assure success: and in order to determine the number of his compatriots in the country and to have a list of them, he required each one of them to bring a needle, which he pretended to be necesasry for certain purposes of his. He placed the needles in a box as soon as they arrived, and finally he counted them and found that he had sufficient men for the purpose of accomplishing his plans. They commenced to build a fort and quarters approximately half a league away, in the town of Tondo, and stored therein rice and other provisions, arms of small consequence as well. So the Chinese began to gather and meet there, especially the indigent classes such as the laborers, etc. Although they were requested to do the same thing, the merchants from the Parian or Chinatown and the officials, abstained from joining the others and were simply quietly guarding their houses and property. The restlessness of the Chinese increased every day, and this together with the reports sent to the Governor and the Spaniards often, kept the former much worried and in apprehension, and impelled them to discuss the matter openly. Seeing that their secret was being discovered, and that any delay would be detrimental to them, and although they had set the uprising for the day of Saint Andrew, in the latter part of November, the Chinese decided to accomplish it ahead of time, and to postpone it no longer. So, on Friday the third day of October on the eve of Saint Francis day, they hurried to the said fort of theirs so that by night-time, the Chinese who had gathered already numbered two thousand. Juan Bautista de Vera who was the leader and treason-hero, played the role of the faithful thief, and came to the City to tell the Governor that the Chinese were restless and

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(1) This is the famous Eng-Kang in the history of the Philippines.

were gathering together on the other side of the river. He was immediately seized, placed under guard, held under strong suspicion and indicted and later on executed.[1] Without any noise of drums, he ordered the field and City companies of soldiers to be alerted and have their arms in readiness. Evening had hardly set in, when Don Luis Dasmariñas who lived close to the Monastery and Church of Binondo across the City, came hurriedly to the City to advise the Governor that there was a rebellion of the Chinese, and asked him for twenty soldiers to proceed across the river to guard the said monastery. Sergeant-major of the Camp, Cristobal de Axqueta, went over with these soldiers accompanying Don Luis Dasmariñas, and in the silence of the night one could hear the hourly-increasing noise made by the Chinese as they kept on gathering together, while they sounded trumpets and other instruments, according to their custom. Don Luis remained guarding the Monastery with the men he brought over from the City where many women and children of Christianized Chinese had taken refuge with the priests. Then the sergeant-major returned to the City and reported what was occurring there. "To arms" was sounded for the reason that the noise and shouting which the Chinese made as they came out to set fire to some houses of the Camp, was so great, that it seemed that they were bent on destroying the same. First they burned a stone country-home of Captain Estevan de Marquina, where he, his wife and children, were at the time, and none of them escaped death, except a little girl who got wounded and hid in grass-field.[2] From there the rebels passed on to the district of Laguio,[3] by the riverside, and set the same on fire, killing some natives, while the rest fled to the City which had already closed its gates, and everyone was wielding a weapon, lying prone on the walls and stationed in other convenient positions, for whatever emergency might ensue, until it dawned. The enemy which had now increased in strength, retired to their fort in order to reaassemble and sally forth therefrom, with greater impetus. Don Luis Dasmariñas who remained on guard at the church and Monastery of Binondo, awaited every hour for the enemy to fall upon them, and sent to the Governor for some more men; and the latter accordingly sent him some regular pay-soldiers, together with some residents of the City, commanded by Captain Don Tomas Bravo de Acuña, his nephew, and Juan de Alcega, Pedro de Arceo and Gaspar Perez whose advice he heeded on that occasion. In the City, all was in confusion, with cries and shouts, particularly on the part of the natives their women and children, who came to take refuge there and save themselves therein. However, the native merchants were asked to come into the City with their merchandise to save themselves from the Chinese in the Parian but they did not venture to do so, because they believed that the enemy would capture the City,—considering the great number of their men,—and behead the Spaniards, and everyone inside it would be in danger. Thus they preferred to remain in the Parian or Chinese quarter, from where they could later join the winning side. With the aid which the Governor had sent him, Don Luis Dasmariñas, considering that it was proper to seek the enemy before they could reassemble and become stronger, moved to the town of Tondo with the said reinforcement, leaving seventy soldiers in Binondo under Gaspar Perez and the rest of the men who numbered about one hundred and forty selected men, armed with arquebuses, and entrenched themselves in the church, which is made of stone, arriving therein at eleven o'clock in the forenoon. The Chinese conceived the same idea, and fifteen hundred of them proceeded to the same place at the time. Then followed between both sides, a fight for the possession of the Monastery, lasting one hour, to which came in support, Captain Gaspar Perez with the men who had remained in Binondo. The enemy retired to their fort after a loss of five hundred men, and Gaspar Perez returned to his post where Pedro de Arceo likewise remained. Don Luis Dasmariñas who was stimulated by the success of the engagement, and impelled by the heat of the sun, and without letting the men rest,—determined to go ahead and seek the enemy with the men he had available. He first sent out Lieutenant Luis de Ibarren, to scout, and the latter brought the intelligence that the enemy was numerous and was not far off. Although Juan de Alcega and others asked Don Luis to halt the company and let the men rest and await the orders of the Governor as to what should be done next, Don Luis was so anxious not to lose this chance, that he taunted the men with stinging words in order to arouse and urge them to follow him,[1] which they did; and then they advanced to a marsh, and thence suddenly came to a plain ground where the enemy was, upon seeing the Spaniards,—bearing sticks, some *katana* swords and some pronged weapons, they all surrounded the fewer men from all sides. Don Luis and his men who could not retire, fought valiantly, killing many Chinese, but in the end, these being so many, they destroyed all the Spaniards, none of whom escaped except four badly wounded men who later brought the news to Manila.[2] To the Chinese, this outcome constituted a very important achievement; first, because by this action so many people belonging to the best class of Spaniards were killed;[3] and secondly, because of the arms in which they had lacked so much, and which they now acquired. They, therefore, now realized that their purpose had a certain expectation of success. On the following day, October five, they sent the heads of Don Luis, Don Tomas, and Don Juan de Alcega and other captains, to the Parian or Chinese quarter, telling the Chinese merchants that, in view of the death of the

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[1] This Chinese does not seem to us so guilty despite what the historians of the Philippines say. There was nothing against him but suspicions, and his act of placing himself in the hands of the governor at the moment when the rebellion had already started signifies either foolhardiness or his innocence.

[2] "They killed Fr. Bernardo de Santa Catalina, commissary of the Holy Inquisition, of the Order of St. Dominic..... Those of Quiapo got after him and killed some 200 persons and burned them. Among them they burned a lady and a boy." (Argesola, book 9)

[3] We don't know for sure which is this town of Laguio. Probably it is the present town of Kiapo which agrees with the text and is mentioned by Argensola. However, from the description that Morga (chap. VIII) and Fr. Chirino give, it seems it can be deduced that Laguio existed where the district of Concepción now is. In fact Laguio Street still remains, between Malate and Ermita.

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(1) What hen has sung it in their ears? Mr. Luis might have answered Juan de Alcega. (Argensola, book 9)

(2) There were found dented helmets on a pole... About thirty were able to escape among them Fr. Farfan, who for going in the rear-guard and being nimble were able to save themselves." (Argensola, book 1)

[3] Mr. Luis Dasmariñas, General Alcega, Mr. Tomás Bravo, Captain Cebrian of Madrid, and all the governor's servants, except one, perished in this fight. The Chinese cut off the heads of the dead, and set them up by the nose on the points of their lances and carried them to the Chinese general Hontai, who was at the fort.

best Spaniards of Manila, they had better rise up and join them or else, they would be gone after and killed. The confusion and sorrow of the Spaniards in the City was so great, that they failed to take the proper measures and action which the matter required. However, the emergency which arose and the energy displayed by the Governor and his officers, obliged everyone to remain in his post, arm in hands, ready, on top of the wall placing as well as possible, the gates of the Parian and Dilao and those parts of the wall, under strong garrison, because it was the most vulnerable part thereof, where the enemy could direct his attack. A piece of artillery was placed on each gate with the best people manning the same, among whom were priests of all denominations. On this Sunday, feeling himself gallant and daring in view of his victory on the previous day, his army having been strengthened with the addition of more men,—the enemy fell upon the City and burned and destroyed everything he encountered, crossed the river in which there were no vessels to oppose him, and all of the vessels of the navy were in the Visayan provinces of the tattooed natives.[1] Said enemy then came to the Parian[2] and attacked the gate with fury and was energetically repulsed by the men armed with arquebuses and muskets, who killed many Chinese. From there, the enemy proceeded to the church of Dilao where he attacked with the same fury and determination, using ladders to get over the gate and the wall, which was lower, and he was met with the same resistance and injury, upon which, he retired with great loss, to the Parian and Dilao in the early evening. The Spaniards spent the whole night guarding the wall and in preparation for next day, and the enemy spent it in the Parian and in Dilao making carts, portable parapets, ladders, fire artifices and other devices of attack, with which to climb the wall and attack and burn the gates, and set fire to everything. At daybreak of next day, Monday, the Chinese gathered together with all their devices, and marching with their most able men in front, now being better armed, they assaulted the wall with great energy and resolve. The artillery destroyed their machinery brought along, and likewise with their arquebus fire, they inflicted on him such damage and offered them so much resistance, that after the loss of numerous men, the enemy again fell back to the Parian and Dilao. Juan Xuarez Gallinato, with some soldiers and a Japanese platoon, came out through the gate of Dilao and attacked the Chinese, going as far as the church; but the Chinese counterattacked them and demoralized the Japanese, and caused the retreat of all to the walls, and the Chinese followed in their pursuit.

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[1] Morga does not relate the exploits that the friars tell of their brother Fr. Antonio Flores who in one night took off the bottoms of 200 vessels, burned some bigger ones and sank others, and with two arquebuses and something more than 400 bullets, from 5 in the morning until 6 in the evening, killed more than 600 Chinese (killing 3 Chinese with each two shots). Later, he alone killed more than 3,000. Neither does he tell us about St. Francis fighting on the walls of Manila as the Franciscans assure us is a certain and investigated fact. Argensola, who follows the Augustinian's account, neither mentions the prowess of the Second Crucified Christ or the Seraphic Father. It seems that this marvel was found out after many years, for Morga and Argensola published their works in 1609, that is, five years later.

[2] Argensola relates that the Chinese killed in the Parian many peaceful merchants while others voluntarily hang themselves. Among these he counts General Hontai and a rich Chican, according to the account of Fr. Juan Pobre, because the famous Eng-Kang did not want to lead the movement.

On this occasion, Captain Don Luis de Velasco who arrived from the Visayas in a good native vessel with a few arquebus armed men, together with others aboard some bancas in support thereof, approached the Parian and Dilao and harassed the Chinese stationed there that day, and the two successive ones, so hard that they abandoned their positions. These Spaniards set fire to the Parian and burned everything, then pursued the enemy everywhere they went. Seing that their position was becoming untenable, and that they could not achieve the purposes they had sought, they decided to retreat from the City after a loss of over four thousand men. They sent an advise to China requesting for assistance. In order to maintain themselves, the Chinese divided their men into three squadrons sending out each in a different direction, one to the Tigues of Pasig, another to Ayonbon and the other to the lake of Bay, San Pablo and Batangas. On Wednesday they had abandoned every part of the City, and thus divided as already stated, they marched off inland-bound. Don Luis de Velasco, with some soldiers and armed natives who came from all parts of the country to succour Manila under the command of some Spaniards and the priests of various denominations, marched out in their pursuit and pressed them so hard that they killed and finished off all those who were proceeding to the Tingues of Pasig and to Ayonbon. The greater number of Chinese went in the direction of the lake of Bay and the mountains of San Pablo and to Batangas, where they thought them selves more secure, burning up the towns and churches and everything they encounterd, entrenching themselves in said places. Don Luis de Velasco followed in their pursuit, with seventy soldiers daily killing many of them. On one occasion, he pressed them so hard that the enemy fought back and killed Don Luis de Velasco, and ten of his soldiers, and again entrenched himself in San Pablo and Batangas, trusting that he could maintain himself there until aid should come from China.[1]

Fearing this situation, and desirous of finishing off the enemy and of bringing peace and quiet to the land, the Governor sent Captain and Sergeant-major Cristobal de Axqueta Menchaca with some men to look for the enemy, and put an end to him. On October twenty, he departed with two hundred Spaniards, soldiers and adventures, three hundred Japanese, fifteen hundred natives, Pampangos and Tagalogs.[2] He used such good tactics that with a negligible loss of men, he contacted the Chinese entrenched in the San Pablo and Batangas areas. Fighting them he killed and beheaded all with not a single one escaping, except two hundred whom he brought back to Manila to serve in the galleys. Twenty days were used in this expedition, which terminated the conflict, as a result of which very few merchants remained in Manila, who, together with their belongings remained in the City, using their good judgment in siding with the Spaniards when the struggle had commenced, at which time the Spaniards did not count with more than seven hundred men who could bear arms.[1]

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[1] "They persuaded the natives to join them but they refused and they would rather kill those they had in their hands." (Argensola)

[2] Argensola says "four thousand Pampangos, armed in accordance with the usage in their country with bows, arrows, pikes, shields, and long and broad daggers ,were sent by the governor of Pampanga to the aid of Manila which was already short of soldiers.

After the war, the real need of the City was manifested, as there were no Chinese to practice the trades or to bring in the supplies, so that there was scarce food to eat and few shoes to wear, even to buy them at exhorbitant prices. The native *indios* were very far from being able to exercise these occupations as they were even neglectful of tilling their land, raising fowls, cattle and cotton and weaving blankets, as they had done during their infidel times and much later after this land had been taken by the Spaniards.[2] Aside from this, it was realized that in view of the recent revolution, the Chinese vessels which had brought in supplies from China, would no longer come to the Islands. Above all this, one could not live without the fear and apprehension that in lieu of said trading vessels, there might come to Manila, a fleet to avenge the death of the Chinese rebels. All of these considerations afflicted the minds of the Spaniards. Furthermore, Father Diego de Guevara, prior of the Monastery of Saint Augustine in Manila, had been sent to the Court of Spain by way of India, to bear the news of these events, but in view of various contretemps that happened to him in India, Persia and Italy on his way to Europe, he could not reach Madrid until after three years had elapsed. Then, Captain Marco de la Cueva was sent to the City of Macao in China, where the Portuguese reside, in the company of Fr. Luis Gandullo of the Order of Saint Dominic, with letters from the Captain-major and council of said City, apprizing them of the revolt of the Chinese and of the events of the struggle, in order that if they should know or hear about any rumors of any naval preparations in China, they should give them advise accordingly. They also bore letters from our Governor to the *tutons* and *aytaos* chiefs and visitors of the provinces of Canton and Chinchow, advising them of the excesses committed by the Chinese, which compelled the Spaniards to kill them. Upon the arrival of Marcos de la Cueva and Friar Luis Gandullo in Macao, they found that there were no news about any fleet but that everything was quiet. However, there already was knowledge of the uprising and a great deal of what had occurred, through certain Chinese who had fled Manila in sampans on that occasion. It became immediately known in Chinchow that these Spaniards were in Macao and Captain Guansansinu and Guachan, two wealthy and regular traders with Manila, went out to seek the former, and, upon learning the truth of what had happened, they accepted the letters of the Mandarins to be the bearers thereof, and they encouraged other traders and vessel owners of Chinchow who had not dared to send their vessels, to send them now to Manila; all of which was advantageous to us because it filled a great part of the prevailing need suffered by the land. With this supply, together with some powder, salt-peter and lead of which Marcos de la Cueva supplied himself for our stores, he departed from Macao and proceeded to Manila where he arrived in May, to the great satisfaction of the whole City in view of the news he brought which later on began to materialize with the arrival of a trading fleet of thirteen vessels, loaded with supplies and merchandise from China.

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[1] Numerous cruelties were committed in this fight and many peaceful and friendly Chinese were killed... Mr. Pedro de Acuña, who did not know how to prevent or to smother at the beginning this terrible insurrection, contributed also to the horrible carnage that followed. "And thus many Spaniards and natives by order of Mr. Pedro hunted the disbanded Chinese." Hernando de Avalos, governor of Pampanga, seized more than 400 peaceful Chinese" and carrying them to a creek, manacled two by two, delivered them to certain Japanese who beheaded them. First Fray Diego de Guevara of the Order of St. Augustine, Prior of Manila, who wrote this account, preached to them and only five of them abandoned idolatry...' Would he not have done better to preach to Governor De Avalos and remind him that he was a man? Spanish historians say that the Japanese and Filipinos were cruel in the massacre of the Chinese. It is very probable, considering their mutual rancour and hatred; but those who were in authority contributed also to it with their example.

They say that more than 23,000 Chinese died. Some assert that the number of Chinese killed was greater. But, in order that the excessive number of Chinese admitted, contrary to royal prohibitions, might not be noted, the ministers covered it up or reduced the number of those who perished."

[2] The coming of the Spaniards to the Philippines, their rule, and with this the immigration of the Chinese, killed the industry and the agriculture of the country The terrible competition that the Chinese wage against the members of any other race is well known and for that reason the United States and Australia refuse to receive them. The "indolence", then, of the inhabitants of the Philippines has for its origin the little foresight of the government. Argensola says the same thing, who could not have copied Morga, for their works were published in the same year in countries far from each other and in them are found notable divergencies.

In the month of June of the year sixteen hundred and three[1], two galleons were dispatched from Manila to New Spain under Don Diego de Mendoza, through whom on that year, the Viceroy, Marquis of Montesclaros, had sent the regular aid for these Islands, the captain's vessel being the "*Nuestra Señora de los Remedios*" and the admiral's vessel, the "*San Antonio*".

Many wealthy people of Manila who had lately suffered disappointment and hardships, embarked on these vessels with their households and belongings, bound for New Spain, particularly the admiral's vessel which carried the greatest cargo of riches which had ever left the Philippine Islands. Both vessels experienced considerable difficulties owing to the unfavorable weather during the voyage on thirty-four degrees latitude, before passing Japan, and the captain's vessel arrived back in Manila without masts, after having jettisoned considerable cargo and suffered various losses; while the admiral's vessel was swallowed up by the sea, without a single person therein having survived, this mishap constituting one of the greatest losses and sea disasters which the Philippine Islands had ever suffered.[2]

The Governor spent the rest of this year and that of sixteen hundred and five up to the season for sending out the galleons which were bound for Castile,[3] in repairing the City of Manila and providing her with supplies and ammunition with special care not to be caught unprepared when the order-which he anticipated from the Spanish Court, of which he had previous news,—should arrive, to send an expedition to Malacca. Thus he would not be so unprepared that he would have to postpone the same; and he was quite right in this, because at the very time of his preparations, there came from Spain the Master of the Camp, Juan de Esquivel, together with six hundred soldiers arriving in Mexico, where many more men were being prepared together with a considerable amount of ammunition and supplies, money and arms, which the Viceroy, by order of His Majesty, had sent to our Governor from New Spain, so that he should proceed with them to Malacca; all of which arrived in Manila safe and on time.

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[1] 1604.

[2] The priests historians, who always see the hand of God in every misfortune, accident, or occurrence that befalls their enemies, interpreting it at their pleasure, never comment on these repeated shipwrecks of boats loaded with riches, much of which the *encomenderos* obtained from the Indios by using force, imposing their law, and if not, by falsifying the balance and the measure that were then in use.

[3] New Spain.

Soon after the galleons had departed from Manila bound for New Spain, and those which the Viceroy had sent from there had arrived here, — the Archbishop Fr. Miguel de Benavides died after an extended illness, and his remains were buried with collective devotion and acclamation by the City residents.[1]

At this same time, three letters arrived for Don Pedro de Acuña on the vessels which arrived from China, carrying merchandise and their principal captains sent by the *tuton* and *Haytao* chiefs and from the visitor general of the province of Chinchow, on the matter of the uprising of the Chinese and its punishment, which duly translated, is as follows:

> *"Letter of the Visitor of Chinchow in China, written to Pedro de Acuña, Governor of the Philippine Islands, to the Great Captain General of Luzon:*
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> *"Having learned that the Chinese who used to go to trade in the kingdom of Luzon, were killed by the Spaniards, I have inquired into the cause of said deaths and have prayed our king to mete out justice to those who have caused so much evil, in order that in the future, a remedy for those situations be divised and the traders obtain peace and tranquility. In previous years before I was a visitor, a Chinese named Tioneg with three Mandarins and with permission from the king of China, had gone to Luzon and Cavite in search of gold and silver, all of which resulted in falsehood, because he did not find either gold or silver. I, therefore prayed the king to punish this lying Tioneg in order that the righteous justice practiced in China be understood. At the time of the past Viceroy and Capado,[2] it was that Tioneg and his companion Yanglion had told the said lie, and afterwards I prayed our king here to order that the record in the case of Tioneg be brought to his presence together with Tioneg himself, and then I myself saw from said record that everything that Tioneg had alleged had been perfect lies.*

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[1] Lord Stanley suspects, and not without reason, that this archbishop had been one of the causes of the outbreaks of the Chinese in Manila who aroused the suspicion of the government in the famous question of the mandarins.

[2] Eunuch.

Then I wrote the king that owing to the lies which Tioneg had told, the Spaniards had suspected that we wanted to make war on them, for which reason, more than thirty thousand Chinese in Luzon had been killed, and the king approved what I had petitioned, and so he punished said Yanglion by ordering him to be executed. He also had Tioneg beheaded and his head was hung in a cage; and he declared that the Chinese who died in Luzon were without any guilt. I and others took up this matter with the king to find out what his will on the matter might be, and also on the other matter in which two British vessels had come to the coast of Chinchow, which is dangerous to China, so that the king may decide what should be done with these two so dangerous matters. We also wrote to the king repeatedly that the two Chinese be punished, and after we had written him so, he answered us telling us to find out the purpose of the English vessels, and that if perchance they had come to pillage, they be directed to go to Luzon,[1] *also to tell the Luzon people not to give credit to any lying scoundrels from China and that the two Chinese who had steered the English to the port, be killed. As to the other matters of which we had written him, we should proceed to do whatever we thought best. After receiving these instructions, the Viceroy, the Eunuch and myself are now sending these our communications to the Governor of Luzon, in order that His Excellency may know the greatness of the king of China and of the Kingdom of China which is so large that it rules all lands on which the sun and the moon shine, also in order that the Governor of Luzon may judge the great justice with which a large kingdom as ours is ruled. No one has dared to offend this kingdom for a long time. Although the Japanese had attempted to disturb Korea which is under the Government of China,*[2] *they were unable to succeed and instead, they were driven away, and Korea has remained peaceful and quiet. as is well known to the people of Luzon.*

"Last year, after we learned that in view of the lies of Tioneg, so many Chinese were killed in Luzon, many of us Mandarins gathered together and agreed to negotiate with our king, so that he would avenge so many deaths and we told him that the land of Luzon was a despicable one and of little importance, and that in former times, it was only inhabited by devils and serpents, and it was only made noble by so many Chinese having gone there for the last few years to deal and trade with the Castilians. Said Chinese have worked there so much building

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[1] For their piracies. The Philippines, thanks to the disarming of her inhabitants, was then an open country to the depredations of the Dutch, English, Chinese, Japanese, and the Muslims of the South.

[2] In the time of Taikosama.

the wall and houses and making yards and helping the Spaniards in many ways of great advantage to them. And if this is true, then why did not the Spaniards take these things into consideration and shown gratitude for their good services, instead (sin que)[1] *of killing so many people with such cruelty? We wrote to the king three times on this matter and he answered in great indignation over these things, and stated that it was not convenient to take revenge or make war on the people of Luzon for these reasons: first, because for a long time the Spaniards have been friends of the Chinese; in the second place, it was not certain whether victory would be for the Spaniards or for the Chinese*[2]*, and in the third and last place, because the people which the Spaniards had killed, according to the king, were undesirable and troublesome to China, their country, parents and relatives who had not returned to China for so many years. According to the king, he did not esteem these people very much, for the reasons already stated. The king only entrusted the writing of this letter to the Viceroy, the Eunuch and myself and the present envoy, in order that the people of Luzon may now know that the king of China has a good heart, is long-suffering and merciful, as he has not ordered that war be waged against the people of Luzon, and his righteousness is very evident because he has punished the lying of Tioneg. Now then, since the Spaniards are wise and prudent people, how is it that they do not fell regret for having killed so many people, nor repent for having committed said thing*[3] *and why do they not have a heart for the Chinese who have survived? If the Spaniards have a heart for the Chinese and if those tho have survived the war return, and if the indemnity which is owing is paid them together with the property which has been taken away from the Chinese, then there will be friendship between this kingdom and yours, and every year there will be vessels engaged in trade, otherwise my king will not authorize the sending there of merchant vessels; on the contrary, he will have a thousand fighting vessels built to carry soldiers and relatives of those killed and other people of the kingdom who pay Pariah tribute to China and, without forgiving anyone, they will wage war on them, and the kingdom of Luzon will be given to said people who pay Pariah tribute to China. This letter was written by the visitor general on this twelfth day of the second month."*

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[1] *Sino que* (but that).

[2] This frank and spontaneous confession proves ,among other things, the sincerity that prevails in this letter, despite some bôasts peculiar to the Chinese.

[3] The Chinese would deduce this from the excuses and explanations that Mr. Pedro gave, without being abliged to do so, to the Chinese rulers. Mr. Pedro de Acuña, in his reply, did well in correcting this error.

According to our reckoning, the month stated corresponds to March of the twenty-third year of the reign of Vandal. The letter of the Eunuch was written on the sixteenth of said month and year; and the letter of the Viceroy, on the twenty-second of the month.

The Governor answered these letters by the same messengers, with courtesy and authority, giving satisfaction regarding what had been done, and stating the justification of the Spaniards and their stand, and again offered their friendship and trade relations with the Chinese. He ordered that the estates that had remained in Manila would be returned to their Chinese owners, and that eventually the prisoners who were serving in the galleons would be given freedom, inasmuch as it had been planned to use them first in the expedition against Malacca, which was being prepared at the time.

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The barefooted priests of the Order of Saint Francis, Saint Dominic and Saint Augustine, continued to enter Japan on a Spanish vessel which was sent out this year to the kingdom of the Kwanto, likewise on other vessels of the Japanese kingdoms which periodically came to Manila carrying silver and flour to their trading customers, with permission and leave of Daifusama, who now was called Cubosama, who, on this year, sent to the Governor through his own servant, certain arms and presents as a reciprocal exchange for those which the Governor had sent him, together with a letter which now follows:

LETTER OF DAIFUSAMA

Lord of Japan, for the Governor Don Pedro de Acuña. year sixteen hundred and five:

All the gifts and presents from Your Excellency have been received as mentioned in your memorial. Of these, the wine made of grapes which I received, has pleased me greatly. During the past year, Your Excellency requested me for clearance and leave for six vessels, which petition I always granted. However, it has displeased me much that one of the vessels, the "Antonio", *made a voyage without my leave, which was exercising much freedom, and in great disregard for my person. Will Your Excellency, perchance, send any vessel without my leave? Be-*

> *sides, Your Excellency and others belonging to the denominations now settled in Japan, have asked me many things regarding religious matters, which I cannot grant, for the reason that this region is named Xincoco*[1] *which means, dedicated to the idols, which latter from immemorial times of our predecessors until now, have been honored with great worship, a situation which I cannot change or disturb. For this reason, by no means should your creed be preached or established; so if Your Excellency wishes to have friendship with these kingdoms and myself, you must do what I wish be done, and ever refrain from doing what I do not want to be done. Finally, many have informed me that many bad and perverse Japanese who go to live in that kingdom and remain there for a long time, and afterwards come back. All of this gives me displeasure and, therefore, I advise Your Excellency to insist that they may hear advice and be careful that your nationals conduct themselves hereafter so that they will not afford me displeasure."*

The greatest desire of the Governor was to make the expedition to Terrenate in Malacca, and this very soon, before the enemy should take more complete possession of the same; as he had received news to the effect that the Dutch who had already seized the island, and the fort of Amboine, had done the same thing with the island of Tidore, and ejected therefrom the Portuguese who had settled there and had occupied Terrenate, establishing therein a trading post for clove spice.

As soon as orders had arrived from Spain authorizing this enterprise, about June sixteen hundred and five, together with men and aid which Juan de Esquivel the Master of the Camp, had brought over from New Spain at the same time, the Governor employed the rest of the year in making ready the vessels, men and supplies which he deemed sufficient for the undertaking; and after leaving in Manila a sufficient force to defend it, he left for the provinces of the tatooed natives, where the fleet was being concentrated in the beginning of the year sixteen hundred and six.

On the fifteenth day of the month of February, the fleet was ready to depart. It was composed of five vessels, four galleys with poop lanterns, three galliots, four sampans, three *funes* or Japanese-type craft, two English launches, two barkantines, a flat barge for the artillery, and thirteen high-tack frigates, carrying thirteen hundred Spaniards, both regular pay-soldiers, captives and other officers, adventurers, and ship-prisoners, among who were Portuguese captains and soldiers and the captain-major of Tidore[1] who had been in Tidore when the Dutch took possession of the island. These had come from Malacca to join the expedition. There were also four hundred natives selected laborers, Tagalogs and Pampangos from Manila, all of whom had come to the coast with their officers and arms, to serve.[2] There was a considerable number of artillery pieces of every type, much ammunition, surplus implements and provisions, sufficient for nine months.

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[1] Shinkuko.

Don Pedro de Acuña departed with all these forces from the tip of Iloilo, near the *villa* of Arevalo, Island of Panay. Thence, sailing along the coast of Mindanao, he went to the port of Caldera in order to load water and fire-wood and other necessaries.

The Governor went aboard the galley "*Santiago*" and was in command of the other bar-propelled galleys and vessels. The vessel "*Jesus María*" was the captain's vessel for the other craft, on board which was the Master of the Camp, Juan de Esquivel. The admiral of the fleet was captain and sergeant-major Christobal de Azcueta Menchaca. After executing what was necessary in Caldera, the fleet weighed anchor, and when the captain's vessel attempted to set sail, it being a heavy

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[1] Pedro Alvarez de Abreau.

[2] According to Argensola, who publishes a succinct account of this expedition, in it were:

Spaniards with their officers	1,423
Pampango and Tagalog volunteers (without their chiefs)	344
Pampango and Tagalog for naval and military service	620
Rowers	629
Indio chiefs	5
	3,041

But he adds afterwards that "all the people of the fleet *excluding the household and family* of the general, were 3,095 persons. Probably, or the 54 lacking are Portuguese under the command of De Abreau and De Camelo, though Argensola does not mention Portuguese soldiers, either because their number was not considerable or perhaps the figure Morga gives is the more exact.

The names of the Indios who went at their expense in the expedition were: Mr. Guillermo (Balaot), master of camp; captains Francisco Palaot, Juan Lit, Luis Lont, and Agustín Lot. These must have behaved very well, for, after the assault on Ternate, Argensola says: "No person of importance among the Spaniards or Indios remained without wounds." (Book 10) vessel, it was unable to make the turn, and the current dragged it to the shore, from which direction it was impossible to deviate her, so that it grounded and was rendered unserviceable or was disabled, but the men, artillery and a portion of the ammunition and clothing it carried, was saved. After removing from it the large sails and bolts which could be taken out, in order that the Mindanao Moros could not avail themselves of them, and burning the vessel, the fleet proceeded on its way. The galleys sailed along the coast of Mindanao, and the vessels and other smaller craft followed the same course to the port of Talangame, island of Terrenate. The vessels sighted, each from its own view-point, first the islands of Malacca, then they recognized a heavy well- gun-equipped Dutch vessel which was anchored at Terrenate, and which fired heavy salvos at our vessels, and then entered the port, and protected itself close to land, with its artillery pieces and men of the vessel and Terrenate natives. The Master of the Camp[1] took his vessels to the Island of Tidore, where he was well received by the principal men and *cachil* chiefs, as the king was out, getting married in the island of Bachan. Then the Master of the Camp found four Dutch traders who were buying clove spice, from whom he learned that the vessel which was in Terrenate came from Holland, and was one of those departing from Amboine after seizing Tidore and driving away the Portuguese, now loading a cargo of clove spice. It was awaiting other reserve vessels, because they had established friendly relations with Tidore and Terrenate, and were negotiating a treaty of surrender in order to promote trade advantages over the Spaniards and Portuguese. The Master of the Camp immediately sent for the king of Tidore and refreshed his men and vessels; likewise preparing basketfuls of earth and other devices useful in war. Said Master awaited Don Pedro de Acuña, whose galleys had, through the fault of the pilots, deviated themselves by falling leeward from Terrenate Island for thirty leagues up to Celebes Island, otherwise named Matthews. Having recognized the island, he returned to Terrenate and passing in sight of Talangame, he discovered the Dutch vessel. He attempted to approach and recognize it, but seeing that she was damaging the galleys, and that the Master of the Camp was absent, he sailed to Tidore, where he found everybody overjoyed, and where they spent the rest of the month of March. Then the king of Tidore arrived with twelve well-armed row vessels, and he exhibited considerable satisfaction over the arrival of the Governor, to whom he complained of the tyranny of Sultan Said,[1] king of Terrenate, who kept him in subjugation, with the support of the Dutch. The king promised to serve His Spanish Majesty by his own person and by six hundred men with the fleet. Don Pedro welcomed him and regaled him. Then, without overstaying in Tidore or bothering about the enemy vessel in Talangame, he discussed the principal business which had brought him over here. He sailed the latter part of March to return to Terrenate, and he anchored in a bay between the town and the port, and the king of Tidore with his row-vessels did likewise.

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[1] Of the Spanish camp, Juan de Esquivel.

On that same night, the Dutch vessel weighed anchor and proceeded to Amboine. At dawn next day April the first, they landed their men with certain difficulty with the purpose of marching against the naval station on the way to the fort, in order to emplace their battery, with which to hammer it. It appearing to the Governor that it was dangerous, because this passage was straight and very narrow, he put in many laborers who opened up another way, so that the rest of the army might pass through it, and the enemy be diverted in many places... Through this means the Camp was brought nearer to the walls, and many Terrenate fighters came out from several parts to oppose the Spanish forces' advance. The spearhead of the Spaniards was under the command of Juan Juarez Gallinato and captains Juan de Cuevas, Don Rodrigo de Mendoza, Pascual de Alarcon, Juan de Cervantes, Captain Vergara and Cristobal de Villagra with their respective men. The rest of the captains went with the main body, and the rearguard was under the command of Captain Delgado, while the Master of the Camp supervised every part of the army. The army then reached the place just opposite and under the fire of the enemy artillery, which acted quite promptly. The Governor came out to watch the disposition of the troops, then he left to return to the fleet to fetch the pieces of artillery and to get refreshments for the soldiers. Between the troops and the wall, there were some tall trees where the enemy had placed some sentinels to watch the battle. They fought these off and placed their own men who could espy what was happenning in the fortress. Captain Vergara, with Don Rodolfo de Mendoza and Alarcon following behind him, went out to reconnoiter along the wall of the fortress of "Nuestra Señora" and to see the pieces of artillery emplaced on the ground, and a lower dry-stone wall extending up to the mountain where there was a rampart at the end, which they called Cachitulo, which was defended by pieces of artillery and many small guns or mortars and men armed with muskets, arquebuses, pikes and other miscellaneous weapons, customarily used, stationed all along the wall in order to defend it. After having seen all these, and not without danger to themselves,—as the enemy artillery had killed six of our soldiers, and the enemy muskets had injured the knee of Lieutenant Juan de la Ramble, they returned to their squadrons. It was almost midday when there was discovered an important place toward the Cachitulo bulwark, from which to attack and drive the enemy away from the fortress; so Captain Cuevas was ordered to take with him twenty-five musketeers and occupy the position. So, when they started to do this, the enemy promptly sent out a detachment to impede the Spaniards. They followed a skirmish and the Moors turned about and retreated towards the fort. Cuevas followed the enemy, and he pressed them so hard that he was soon in need of help. The watchers on the trees reported what was happening, and Captains Don Rodrigo de Mendoza, Alarcon, Cervantes and Vergara, their men armed with pikes and halberds, pursued the enemy with such push and determination that they entered the fort in pursuit through the walls, notwithstanding the fact that some of the men were wounded; and Captain Cervantes was back and fell down the wall, breaking his bones, from which injuries he died. Captain Don Rodrigo de Mendoza pursued the enemy who was retreating as far as the inner fort of "Nuestra Señora", while Vergara went to the opposite as far as the mountain.

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[1] Said Dini Barakaja.

By this time, the entire army had gone to assault the fort, and teaming up with each other, the soldiers climbed up the wall and entered the court of the fort from all sides, at the cost of some dead or wounded soldiers. The attacking soldiers stopped in the trenches beyond the stronghold of "Nuestra Señora"; because the enemy had retreated to a tent which was greatly fortified by men armed with arquebuses and muskets and four ready pieces of artillery, which discharged their arms against the Spaniards, throwing at them burning sticks and other missiles, as was the custom then. The Spaniards charged against the tent. A Dutchman attempted to fire a heavy stone-thrower which would have caused much havoc, but being greatly agitated, he missed and dropped the linstock, turned around and ran away. The rest of the enemies followed suit and abandoned the tent and fleeing in several directions, they dispersed. Those who could do so, sailed away with the king; some of his wives and some Dutch ladies boarded a native row-boat and four armed *juanga*-boats which they had near the king's fort. Captain Vergara immediately entered said fort and found nobody therein. Don Rodrigo de Mendoza and Villagra pursued the enemy toward the mountain which was a long stretch, killing many Moors, so that at two o'clock in the afternoon, the town and fort of Terrenate were completely taken, and the banners and flags of Spain were raised thereon without need of destroying the walls, as had been thought necessary. The victory was obtained at a very small cost of Spanish lives, as shall now follow: The dead numbered fifteen men, and the wounded another twenty. The town was reconnoitered to the last nook and corner up to a small fort, named Limataen, having two artillery pieces, and another two which were near a mosque, towards the beach. The pillage of the town was not very important, because the Moors had already removed the most valuable portion of the town-belongings, women and the children, to the island of the Moor, where the king had fled to, entering a fort he had there. There was found on the land, a certain amount of clothing, a good quanitiy of clove spice, and two thousand ducats at the Dutch warehouse, some shawls, linen and many arms, and in various parts were found good pieces of both Portuguese and Dutch artillery, many mortars and much ammunition, all of which were taken for His Majesty's use.[1] All of this booty was placed under guard and with a few pieces of artillery taken from the fleet, the country was duly fortified and defended, and placed under the control of the Governor who provided for everything which was requisite in the premises.

Cachil Amuxa, the highest principal person of Terrenate, nephew of the king, together with other *cachils* or chiefs came with peace offerings to the Governor, saying that he and all the Terrenate people would like to become vassals of His Majesty, and that they would have yielded obedience to him some time ago, if the king had not opposed it, because, being a proud man, wanting to have his own way always, notwithstanding the advice to him to submit to His Majesty and yield obedience to him, he did not decide to do so, because the successes he had on previous occasions,—which now resulted in his present misfortune. Amuxa now offered himself to bring the king from the fort in the island of the Moor, provided that he was given proper assurance of safety for his life.[2] Don Pedro de Acuña received this Moor well, and promised that he would be accompanied by Pablo de Lima, a Portuguese from Tidore, whom the Dutch had driven away that place and known by the king. So the Governor sent them off under security in writing, as follows:

> *"SAFE CONDUCT given by Don Pedro de Acuña to the king of Terrenate:*
>
> *I, Don Pedro de Acuña, Governor of the Philippine Islands, Captain General and Commander of this army and navy, hereby certify, that by virtue of these presents, I grant assurance to the life of the king of Terrenate,*
> . . . .

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[1] "The people having entered the city, everybody devoted himself to fury and robbery. Mr. Pedro had issued a proclamation in which he granted that all the enemies seized during those four days would become slaves. (Argensola, book 10) During the sacking that Mr. Pedro could not restrain neither children nor young girls were spared; one girl was killed because two soldiers wrangled over her; but *Salve Regina*, with which our Church invokes the Virgin Queen, was sung most devoutly.

[2] This Cachil Amuxa, the bravest of the men of Terrenate, was the first cousin of the king and captain general. When a country has only brave men, but not loyal defenders, she can then prepare herself for slavery. Argensola does not mention that this sad step was taken not by Amuxa but by Cachil Mofaquia.

authorizing him to present himself to and interview the undersigned; likewise to those whom he may bring with him, reserving to myself the right to provide for the rest as I may see fit; of all of which, I give full assurance and safe conduct, in the name of His Majesty. I hereby order that no person in the forces of the fleet may disturb or annoy his person or his companions, and that everyone shall obey the contents of this Safe Conduct. Dated in Terrenate, on the sixth day of April, in the year sixteen hundred and six.

DON PEDRO DE ACUÑA"

Within nine days, there returned to Terrenate, Cachil Amuxa and Pablo de Lima, together with the king and prince[1] his son, and other relatives of his, some *Cachil* chiefs and *Sangaje* chieftains, under the same safe conduct and they placed themselves under the orders of the Governor, who received them with much esteem and honor. He accommodated them in the town, placing the king and his son in a good house with a company as his guard. The king restored the towns of the Christians which His Majesty possessed in the island of the Moor, at the time that the Portuguese had lost the fort of Terrenate. He placed himself and his kingdom in the hands of His Majesty, and surrendered a number of muskets and heavy artillery pieces which he possessed in some forts in the said island. The Governor did not dispossess him of his kingdom, but rather gave him the opportunity to select two from among his men, to govern, with the Governor's approval.[2] The king, his son the prince and his *Cachil* and *Sangaje* chiefs swore allegiance as vassals of His Majesty, and the king of Tidore and that of Bachan and the *Sangaje* chief of Bua, did likewise, also surrendered and promised not to admit the Dutch in Malacca, nor other nationalities in the trading of clove spice; and that as such vassals of His Majesty, they would be ready on every occasion, to serve him not only in person, but also through their men and vessels, whenever they should be called upon to do so, by whosoever should be in command of Terrenate fort; likewise, that they should not obstruct any Moor who might desire to embrace Christianity; also, that in the event any Christian should go to their lands and become a renegade, they would surrender him, and do whatever might be convenient to do in the premises.[1] With all of this, both old and young were gratified and content, since they found themselves free from tyranny in which the king of Terrenate had held them previously. The Governor remitted them one third of the tribute they were to pay him, and granted the Moors other benefits. He then proceeded to begin the construction of a new fortress along modern lines, on a higher and more convenient site. The fort was left thus partially commenced. However, in order that, while it was not complete, what they had on hand should serve as a strong fortification, they reduced the size of the former plan, and made some inner walls and bastions which were completed with parapets, having a strong gate. In the island of Tidore, he commenced to build another fort, close to the town in a fine site, and, after having considered that everything in Terrenate and Tidore and in all the towns and forts of Malacca, had been reasonably rendered safe and sound, the fleet departed in the direction of the Philippine Islands, after having left a garrison in the fort of Terrenate, of six hundred soldiers under the command of the Master of the Camp, Don Juan de Esquivel, as the Lieutenant and Governor of Malacca. Of these, five hundred or five companies, were assigned to Terrenate, with a roomy blacksmith shop, blacksmiths and sixty-five laborers and thirty-five stone-masons, together with two galliots and two barkantines which were well armed and had a crew of oarsmen. In Tidore, they stationed another company of one hundred soldiers under Captain Alarcon, with ammunition and supplies for one year for both forts. In order the better to safeguard the state of affairs in the country, they took away from it the king of Terrenate, and brought him along with ....

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[1] The prince was called Sulamp Goriolano. This step was taken against the advice of Queen Celicaya. (Argensola)

[2] If this is not dispossessing in form, it is so at bottom.

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[1] The conditions imposed by Mr. Pedro de Acuña on Sultan Said, his prisoner, through Gallinato, Villagra, Pablo de Lima (interpreter) accompanied by Augustinian and Dominican friars and Jesuits, were the harshest and all the clauses were in favor of the conqueror and none for the prisoner. The Sultan, believing perhaps that he could thus recover his liberty, accepted them all.

them to Manila, together with his son the prince, and twenty-four *Cachil* and *Sangaje* chiefs most of whom being relatives of the king, granting them every honor and distinction.[1] They were given to understand the purposes for which they were taking away the king and his companions, assuring them that his return to Malacca was conditioned upon the security and permanence with which the Moors observed their obedience and service to His Majesty.[2] The three galliots of the Portuguese went back to Malacca, carrying the Dutch who were in Malacca and the Portuguese captains and soldiers who had joined the expedition; the Governor entered Manila with the rest of the fleet, in triumph, in the latter part of May, in the year sixteen hundred and six, and was received with joy and praise by the entire City which gave thanks to God for such a happy and promptly-won success, involving such important and signal enterprise.[3]

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[1] The Jesuit father Luis Fernández, Gallinato, and Esquivel negotiated his exile with the king, its success being attributed by Fr. Colin to the ability of the first. This exile, which was then believed to be wise, turned out later to be impolitic and of very fatal consequences, because it aroused the enmity of all the Moluccas, including that of the allies themselves, and the same Spaniard became as odious as the name Portuguese. The priest Hernando de los Ríos, Bokemeyer, and other historians accuse Mr. Pedro de Acuña of bad faith, but judging strictly, we believe that they are wrong. Mr. Pedro in his safe-conduct, insured the lives of the king and of the prince but not their liberty. Without doubt a little more generosity would have made the conqueror greater, the same Spaniards less hated, and their rule over that archipelago more secure; but the counselor, the animosity of the religious corporations towards the king, could have contributed towards such a fatal determination whose results they saw immediately.

[2] This unfortunate sultan did not return to his country. How he was treated in Manila we know through Hernando de los Ríos. (*Op. cit.*) "It is true that while Mr. Pedro lived, he was treated decently; but in the time of Mr. Juan de Silva, I saw him in a tiny room where, when it rained, all the rain fell on him, and they starved him, so much so that when I entered his room to see him, he begged me on his knees to request the governor *to transfer him to a place where he would not get wet and to help him as he was dying of hunger and on some days if he did not ask for alms he would not eat*. In prosperous times he had committed cruelties and he did have the good luck of other tyrants.

[3] "Triumphal arches were not wanting... The attire of the prisoners consisting of robes, turbans, and plumes were unsuitable to their status, because it made their countenance more proud and their appearance arrogant." (These garbs were made at the expense of the Royal Treasury of the Philippines.) "That king has a robust constitution, his limbs well joined. The nape of his neck with a large part of his breast is exposed. His flesh has the color of the cloud, more black than brown. His features those of a European. Large eyes. Seemingly he throws sparks through them .Long eye-lashes add fierceness to his look. His beard and mustache are thick and his hair is straight. He always carries in his girdle his *campilan*, dagger and kris, both with hilts of golden heads of serpents... the General sent his picture made from the natural to His Majesty". (Argensola, book 10).

During the time the Governor was absent in Malacca, the Royal *Audiencia* of the Philippine Islands was governing the same, and said high Court determined to drive away from the City and country, the many Japanese therein present, for being too spirited, and for causing uneasiness to the land. Said proposition commenced to be put to execution, but the Japanese resenting the same, resisted the deportation, and matters reached such an extreme that they took up arms to prevent it, so that the Spaniards also had to do the same thing. Both sides were determined to go to the field, but somehow there was some delay owing to certain reasons, until thanks to the good offices of the prelates who intervened, the Japanese yielded, and later on those who consented to be shipped away, were deported, although with much regret on their part. This was one of the moments of greatest danger in which Manila ever found itself, for the reason that the Spaniards in Manila were few, and the Japanese one thousand five hundred strong, and they were brave and full of spirit and energy. Had the two sides come to grapple with each other, the Spaniards would have a bad time of it.[1]

Upon his return to Manila, the Governor immediately tackled the affairs of his Government, especially attending to the clearing and sending away of the two galleons which were to proceed to New Spain, taking personal charge, in the port of Cavite, of the loading and provisioning of the vessels, and attending to the passengers who were going out. Then he felt a slight disorder of the stomach which compelled him to return to Manila where he was confined to bed. His pains and illness increased to such an extent and so quickly, that he died shortly and without any remedy and in great suffering, on Saint John's day, to the great sorrow and sympathy of the whole land, especially that shown by the king of Terrenate, who had always received from him so many honors and excellent treatment. The suspicion persisted that his death had been a violent one, according to the signs and symptoms of the illness. The suspicion was augmented by the fact that, when his body was opened up and examined, the physicians and surgeons declared that, judging from what they found, there were indications that the deceased had been poisoned, a fact which made his death more pitiful.[1] The Royal *Audiencia* determined to bury the deceased Governor in the monastery of Saint Augustine in Manila, with the pomp and ceremony which his person and office demanded. The High Court again assumed the Government and dispatched the vessels to New Spain, which apprized His Majesty of the taking of Malacca and of the death of the Governor.

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[1] Other disturbances also occurred, because the enemies of Mr. Pedro spread the news that the expedition had failed and of the death of the majority of the members of the expedition. "This report, reaching the ears of the Indios, did so much harm that they began to mutiny, especially in the provinces of Camarines and the Pintados. And the friars who were in charge of their conversion could no longer manage them, because they said that since the Moluccans were victorious, for what should they be subject to the Spaniards who did not defend them against the Moros, that every day they would be robbed with the support of Ternate and that it would be worse henceforth." (Argensola, book 10)

The captain's vessel which carried on board Don Rodrigo de Mendoza as general and captain, made a short voyage to New Spain carrying these news. The admiral's vessel. although it departed from the Philippine Islands at the same time, took more than six months to reach there. She had to throw overboard the bodies of eighty persons who died of illness, aside from many others who, being afflicted by the disease, died upon landing in the port of Acapulco, among whom were the Licentiate Don Antonio de Ribera, auditor of Manila, who had arrived to become Auditor of Mexico.

Upon the arrival of these two vessels, it was understood that they had left after the death of Don Pedro de Acuña and upon the assumption of the Government by the *Audiencia*, when the affairs of the Government did not offer any new problem. However, trading activities were decreasing owing to the prohibition that in no particular year should the amount of five hundred thousand pesos be exceeded as proceeds of merchandise in New Spain. This caused many deficiencies, as said amount appeared to be insufficient for so many Spaniards and the potential volume of trading which was supporting all the walks of life, as there were neither plantations nor occupations. Aside from this, even if the success in gaining Malacca, had been of such importance in view of what those Islands represented, likewise the price was quite high to subjugate the other provinces which were in rebellion, particularly Mindanao and Sulu, which had caused damaging injury to the Philippine Islands. These matters did not offer the advantages which were desirable, because the Mindanao and Sulu Moros did not yet cease to swoop down, with their fleet, on the provinces of the tattooed natives, to seize booty as they had been doing for so long,[1] which was not so convenient to all. Neither did the affairs of Malacca give the Master of the Camp, Juan de Esquivel, who was governing it, any gratification, as he had very scant assurance of security regarding the natives who were, after all, Mohammedans and as such very changeable, not very loyal, restless and much inclined to disorders and to warning. They would rebel at every moment and in different parts of the land and get troublesome, and even if the Master of the Camp and his captains were always on the watch and alert, they could not find out what the remedy for the occasion might be. Cordiality towards soldiers was decreasing, and the provisions were getting low, and the aid of supplies due from Manila did not come on time, nor in sufficient quantities as requisitioned, owing to the risks of the voyage, and the needs of the Royal Exchequer.[2] No less unsatisfactory were the visits to Malacca at this time, of Dutch and Zealand vessels, which were interested in the islands where they had established their business so well. They used to come in fleets, in view of the needs of navigation to the Indies, for the purpose of recovering what they had lost in Amboine, Terrenate and other islands, the former offering protection to the Moos in their rebellion against the Spaniards who had considerable trouble with them, but more so with the Dutch, who were more numerous and much more to be feared than the natives.

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[1] The authors of this poisoning were then known at Manila and according to Argensola they were known as such: so that popular suspicion makes them the authors of the poisoning... We shall withhold their names... All are dead now." (1609)

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[1] This prophecy of Morga proves once more the highest qualities of this historian. Had not the steamship come to plough those seas, piracy would have lasted to his day with the vigor with which it began.

[2] These were the effects of taking prisoners to Manila the king and the chiefs who entrusted their fate to Mr. Pedro de Acuña. As a result of the negotiations, the king of Tidore himself, ally of Spain, already tried to separate himself; the governors named by Said did not want to deal with the Spaniards and everywhere distrust reigned and the spirit of revenge was aroused. "His vassals seeing our bad treatment of their king, abhorred us as much as they developed an affection for our enemies." (Hernando de los Ríos, p. 22) Mr. Pedro lacked the principal quality of Legaspi.

The interests of the Dutch in these parts were very great both in the trade of clove and in drugs and other spices, likewise, because this constituted an open door for them to enter from where to lord it over the Orient. Therefore, overcoming all obstacles and difficulties of navigation, they came to these Malaccan Islands with increasing frequency and with larger fleets. If no remedy be devised for this evil of a deeper effect and in proper time, the same will increase so much that in the end, it will go beyond control.

These naval incursions used to be made by the English and the Flemish, by way of the Magellan Straits, the first of whom was Francis Drake, and many years later, Thomas Escander (Cavendish), by way of the Moluccas.

Lately, it was the Flemish Oliver Van Noort with whose fleet, a Spanish fleet was engaged in the Philippines Islands at the close of the year sixteen hundred, when his admiral's vessel, commanded by Lambert Biesman (Viezman) was captured, while his capitan's vessel, after losing almost all of its men and becoming quite disabled, managed to escape out of the Philippine Islands and was later seen in Sunda and the channel-mouth of Java in such a sorry condition, that it seemed impossible for it to sail at all and to escape total destruction, as it was alleged that it managed somehow to do.

This corsair Van Noort, although quite battered down, was fortunate enough to escape from the hands of the Spaniards, and managed with much difficulty and many hardships, to return on his vessel "*Maurice*" to Amsterdam, with only nine living men, on the twenty-sixth of August sixteen hundred and one, when he wrote down the account of his voyage, his activities marked with the narrative of his battle, and his vessels, which later on he translated into Latin and published through the German, Theodore de Brie, in Frankfurt, in the year sixteen hundred and two[1] the volumes of which work are circulating over the world as a wonderful adventure which embraces so many hardships and risks.

The same version was given by the pilot Bartolome Perez, who, having returned from England by way of Holland, had talked with Oliver Van Noort, who related to him about his voyage and difficulties, just in the same manner as Licentiate Fernando de la Cueva does in a letter dated in the island of Palma, in the latter part of July, in the year sixteen hundred and four, written to his brother, Marcos de la Cueva, living in Manila, being one of the adventurers who was on board the Spanish captain's vessel which engaged the said corsair, as follows:

> *"I am answering your worship's two letters, one dated July sixteen hundred and one, and the other of July sixteen hundred and two, in both of which your worship relates to me your experience of having been lost and then saved by swimming away. Long before I received your two letters, I had known of the matter ,and it afforded me considerable fear and sorrow. By what was being said here, I thought that your worship might also be affected by the uncertain account, so that I was greatly relieved and glad to learn differently, that is, that your worship had preserved your life and health, with which to achieve the rest in life, and without which, human treasures are worthless. By way of Flanders—and we have in this island daily vessels coming from there—I had learned of the whole incident ,although without any details—because Oliver Van Noort who was the Dutch general with whom this conflict was had—arrived safely in Holland with eight men or nine including his person, and quite penniless. It was his fortune to sail forth with five vessels, making a merchant fleet from the States of Holland and Zealand in rebellion. They must have been valued at one hundred and fifty thousand or two hundred thousand ducats, in vessels and merchandise, and he carried orders to trade and enter into contracts in the Straits or in other ports where he would meet with friends or foes, and not to commit aggression against them, but only defend himself, and to induce the Indies people to trade and make contracts with them. All the vessels having entered the Saints together, he separated from the three vessels, under unfavorable weather ,and those craft must have been lost at sea, because, so far, there were no news of them. Seeing himself so much the loser, and*

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[1] The same year another edition in French was published in Amsterdam.

> *tha he could not recover his losses by mere trade, or because he did not succeed with the people of Peru, he decided to go beyond the limits of his instructions and to employ his voyage in pillaging, and stationed himself at the mouth of the river and awaited the vessels there. The rest, your worship already knows. This Oliver Van Noort was a native of Rotterdam City where he returned with a timber-anchor,*[1] *having no other with which to hald his vessel in port, since not one remained to him. They say this anchor is made of a very heavy kind of wood of the Indies, which he now keeps hanging on his door as a great and important souvenir. As I stated before, he arrived with eight others, himself being a sorry sight, saved by miracle, and he has published a book covering the voyage, with illustrations of the vessels and other peculiar details, regarding the events which happened to him, including the hardships they underwent during the naval engagement ,and the whole voyage. And all this, for his own glory, and as if to encourage others to embark on similar adventures. A pilot of the island named Bartolome Perez, was abducted and taken to England before the peace or armistice were established and he returned through Holland, where he talked very long with Oliver, who gave him a long account of what occurred, which is now known to everyone .He had known this man in this Island before said voyage was undertaken. Bartolome Perez states that his men had remonstrated to Oliver and that he was in possession of all his senses; and that the Spaniards had captured his deck and the upper part of his vessel, and that he was shouting from below deck, ordering his men to set fire to the power-kegs and that as he understood it, the Spanish in view of said order, left his vessel promptly, fearing to be blown up. Thus his vessel and men had the opportunity to escape, battered down as they were, and it seemed like a miracle that they could have proceeded to any port at all. He states that he saw the anchor and the book; and as to said book, here are its contents. I have related these things to your worship, because of what you say in your letter, that people consider them as having lost; and in order that so singular an occurence may be known to people there."*

The Dutchmen are already making a much shorter and safer voyage, both ways, through India, without calling any longer at any of her ports or coast, until they enter the greater and lesser Java Islands, as well as Sumatra, Amboine and the Malaccas. Inasmuch as they know these so well, and as they are aware through experience, of what great advantages may be obtained there, it will be difficult to drive them away from the Orient, where they have committed so much evil, both spiritual and temporal.

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[1] Given to Olivier Van Noort by the captain of a Japanese boat enroute to Manila.

FILIPINAS
HERITAGE
LIBRARY

CHAPTER EIGHT

Narrative of the Philippine Islands and their natives, their antiquity, customs and Government, both during their gentility (non-conversion) and after the Spaniards had conquered them; and other peculiarities.

The Islands of the waters of the Oriental Ocean, adjacent to the farthest part of Asia, belong to the Crown of Spain, and are commonly called "The Islands of the West" by those who sail to them through the Castile demarcation line, and the seas and lands of America, for the reason that, from the time one leaves Spain, one takes a route until one reaches said Islands from East to West, the same as the one travelled by the sun. For a similar reason, they are called "Oriental Islands" by those who navigate through India of Portugal, from West to East. The travellers going both ways, go around the globe through opposite routes, until they come to meet on the same Islands. Those properly called Philippine Islands are numerous, large and small, subject to the Crown of Castile. They lie within the tropic of Cancer and extend from twenty-four degrees North latitude, up to the equinoxial line, which passes through the Malaccan Islands. There are many others on the other line within the tropic of Capricorn, which extend up to twelve degrees, South latitude.[1]

The ancients have alleged that most of these Islands were deserted and uninhabitable,[2] but experience has already demonstrated that this belief is fallacious, as they count with good temperature, many people, food supplies and other factors favorable to the maintenance of human life. They likewise have many minerals, rich metals, precious stones and pearls, animals and plants, in which Nature has not shown laxity.

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[1] More exactly from 25°40' lat. No. until 12° lat. S., if we are to include in the group Formosa, inhabited also by the same race.

[2] We confess our ignorance with respect to the origin of this belief of Morga who, as it can be noted, did not believe thus at the beginning of chapter one. But already since Diodorus Siculus (first century before Christ) in Europe they had news of these islands through a certain Iamboul, a Greek, who reached them (Sumatra at least) and later wrote an account of his voyage, giving detailed information on the number of islands, their inhabitants, their writing, navigation, *etc.* Ptolemy in his geography indicates three islands which in the Latin text are called Sindae, inhabited by *XYIVVXTXL*, which Mercator interprets as Celebes, Gilolo, and Ambcina; of the island of *XYX Oeu Sxlporo* (Borneo); of five islands *Sxpoubbxl* (Mindanao, Leite, Sebú, *etc.*); of three *bxbxSsibxl* (Java group *xbxSvor*); of ten *rxbrlodxl* where a large magnet stone is found. Colin supposes that these are the Manilas.

The totality of islands of this large Archipelago both large and small, is innumerable. Those which are included in the name and government of the Philippine Islands, properly speaking, number approximately forty-six large without any smaller ones. They are all extensive and the principal and best known ones are Luzon, Mindoro, Tendaya,[3] Capul, Burias, Masbate, Marinduduque, Leyte, Samar, Ibabao,(1) Cebu, Panay, Bohol, Catanduanes, Calamianes, Mindanao, and other less important ones.

The first island which the Spanish conquered and settled was Cebu[2] where the conquest was began, and continued in all the other surrounding islands which are all inhabited by natives residing therein known as Visayans, otherwise called "the tattooed ones" for the reason that the most important male residents here have since their childhood, decorated their entire bodies by painting their skins, following a pattern therein drawn[3] and by putting certain black powder where the blood oozes out, and this can never be removed. However, as the capital of government and the principal settlement of the Spaniards were transferred to the island of Luzon, which is a large and nearer Island to the marine frontier of the great country of China and Japan, let us first discuss said Island of Luzon, for the reason that most of what can be said of the same can likewise be said of the others, and the particular specialties and peculiarities of each province will be mentioned in the corresponding place.

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[3] It is very difficult now to determine exactly which was this island of Tendaya, called for some years "Isla Filipina". According to the accounts of Fr. Urdaneta, his island was far to the east of the group, passing through the meridian of the Moluccas. Mercator places it in Panay and Fr. Colin in Leyte, between Abuyog ad Cabalian against the opinion of others who place it in Ibabao, or south of Samar. But according to other documents of the epoch, there was no island with this name, but a chief called Tandaya, lord of a town located in that part, and because the Spaniards could not understand the Indios of the time, so many contradictions in their accounts occurred. We see in Legaspi's expedition (document, 27—1565 Academia de la Historia) that while the Spaniards were talking of islands, the Indios were talking of a man, *etc.* After looking for Tendaya for ten days ,they had to leave without having found it: "And we pass on without seeing either Tandaya or Abuyo." It seems, however, that the Spaniards continued giving this name to the southeastern part of Samar, called Ibabao or Zibabao, the southeast, and Samar the north of the same island.

[1] Southeastern part of Samar.

[2] *Sugbú* in the language of the country.

[3] That is, drawing first on the skin what has to be tattoed. As it will be seen further, the Bisayans used the same method the Japanes use today.

This island of Luzon has a length from its trip or head where one enters the Philippine Islands, from the mouth of the Capul Channel which lies on the thirteenth and one-half degrees North latitude, up to the Cape of Bajeador, in the marine frontier of China on twenty degress latitude, over two hundred leagues away. In some places the width of the island is less than in others, particularly in the middle of the same which is so narrow that it is only less than thirty leagues wide. The entire island has approximately over four hundred leagues around the same.

The temperature on this island is not invarible, but changes in various regions and provinces thereof. In the head and beginning of the island, near the channel, the beaches[4] are warm while in the interior, where the City of Manila is situated, it is mild. The site is warm because it is low and close to the sea while in its communities not far from the City proper, there are localities and settlements which are more cool, where the heat does not annoy, and it is likewise thus at the head of the island in the marine frontier of China, named Cagayan. The seasons of the year, i.e., winter and summer,, are the opposite of those in Europe, as the rains generally falls over all these Islands from the month of June up to September, bringing heavy downpour of rain, whirl-winds and storms, both on land and sea. In summer from October up to the end of May, the skies are clear and the sea is smooth, although in some provinces winter or the cold season and the heavy rains begin earlier than in others[1] and in Cagayan, the winter and summer seasons are similar to those in Spain and they last as long.

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[4] *Marinas,* meaning beaches.

[1] Morga takes the rainy season as winter and the rest of the year summer. However, this is not quite exact, because in Manila by December, January, and February the thermometer goes down more than in the months of August and September and therefore with regard to the seasons it resembles Spain as all the rest of the North Hemisphere.

The people who inhabit the large island of Luzon in the province of Camarines and even in the neighboring provinces around Manila, both by sea and by land, are natives of the island, middle-sized, of a color similar to the quince fruit, and both the men and women have good features, with very black hair, scarce beard and are quite ingenious in every way, keen and quick-tempered and quite resolute. They all live in the farm by their manuel labor, fisheries and trading, sailing from one island to another and going from one province to another by land.

The natives of other provinces of this island as far North as Cagayan, are of the same kind and fortune; except that it is known by tradition that those of Manila and other neighboring communities, were not natives of said island but immigrated therein, settled down and peopled the same in past times, they being Malayan natives or natives of their islands and remote lands.[2]

In some provinces of Luzon there is likewise a number of natives who are of black complexion, the men and women having kinky hair, not so tall in stature, although clever and with robust bodies. They are barbarians with very little mental capacity, who have no fixed homes or settlements. They live in groups and settlements, roving through mountains and crags, noving along according to the weather, from place to place, maintaining themselves by making clearings or *kaingins* and improvised paddies or terraces, likewise by hunting game with their bows and arrows in which they are quite proficient, by collecting wild honey from the forests and picking edible roots and tubers from the ground. They are wild tribes of whom one cannot be safe, as they are inclined to kill and attack the settlements of the natives, to whom they cause considerable damages; and it has been unable to devise any measures to prevent them from this conduct or to defeat or pacify them, although it has often been tried to do this by good or violent means,[1] as the opportunity had determined them.

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[2] Ancient traditions make Sumatra the place of origin of the Filipinos. These traditions were completely lost as well as the mythology and genealogies that old historians tell us about, thanks to the zeal of the religious in extirpating every national, gentile, or idolatrous memento. With respect to the ethnology of the Philippines, as the space at our command does not allow us to discuss the matter extensively, we recommend to the reader the most interesting work of Professor Blumentritt, *Versuch einer Etnographie der Philippinen* (Gotha, Justus Perthes, 1882).

The province of Cagayan is settled by natives of the same complexion as the others in the island, more physically able and more brave and warlike than the others. Their hair is long and hangs down their soulders. They had risen up and rebelled two times after they had first been pacified, and there was considerable effort made to defeat and pacify them again.

The dress which these natives of Luzon wore before the advent of the Spaniards in the land, consisted of the following: for the men, clothes made of *cangan* fabric without collar, sewn in front with short sleeves extending down to beyond the waist, some blue and some black, while the headmen used red ones which they called chininas[2] and a colored blanket wrapped around the waist and between the legs, in order to cover their private parts. In the middle of the waist they wore the bahaque[3] the legs being bare and the feet also bare, the head uncovered, with a narrow kerchief tied around it tightly over the forehead and temples, called *potong.*[4]

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[1] More often by bad means rather than by good ones until a point was reached when the Government had to order to refuse them everything in order to compel to submit to see if cruel and inhuman treatment would fill up the inefficacy of the missionaries.

[2] We don't know the origin of this word which does not seem to us as being derived from China. If we may be allowed to make a conjecture, we would say that perhaps a wrong phonetic transcription had been made of *chinina* the word *tinina* (from *tina*) which in Tagalog means dyed, name of this garment, almost always monochromatic, which indicated its origin. The chiefs used the red color and the cloth is "fine gauze from India," according to Colin. This fondness for red, which we already found among the Romans, subsists among the barbarous tribes of Mindanaw.

[3] *Bahag*, "rich colored cloth and quite often with gold stripes," among the chiefs.

[4] They put it in different ways, sometimes in Moro style like a turban, sometimes wrapped around the head like a small head-dress. Those who took pride in being brave let fall the ends of the cloth, elaborately decorated, and so long they reach until the legs. And on it they display the colors of their principality and the mottos of their exploits and achievement. It was not proper for any one to use red *potong* until he has killed at least one man. And to wear certain stripes on it, like a crown, he must have killed seven men." (Colin, book I, 59). Even now an Indio can be seen wearing the *balindang* in the style of the *potong*. means to crown, that is, to put something around the head.

Around the neck they wore a long chain of engraved gold links the same as we wear it, some links being larger than the others. On their arms they wore thick and engraved gold bracelets called *colombigas* made in different designs. Some men used strings of stones, red agate and of other colors and blue or white stones, which to them are valuable.[5] As garters, they used on their legs some strings of these stones and some strings painted black and tied around their legs, several times.[6]

In a certain province named Zambales, they shave their heads closely from the middle to the forehead, with a large lock of loose hair[1] on the back of the head. The women throughout this province wear *sayas* or dresses with sleeves called *varo*,[2] of the same cloth or of different color, without any chemise except white cotton sheets wound around the waist falling down to their feet. Others use colored ones around their bodies as shawls, with much gracefulness. The principal women use scarlet or silk ones or other fabrics, interwoven with gold thread adorned with fringes and other ornament. They use many gold necklaces around their necks, bracelets around their writs, and heavy earrings made of engraved gold, and rings of gold and stone on their fingers. Their black hair is gracefully tied with a ribbon or knot to the head. After the Spaniards came to the land, many native men ceased to wear gee-strings and instead they wore baloon-trousers made out of the same blankets and cloths, also hats on their heads. The headmen wear dresses decorated with pounded gold-braid of various workmanship, and many of them wear shoes. Likewise, the principal women were curiously shod and many of them wear velvet shoes with gold trimmings, also white sheets as undershirts.

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[5] There were also of ivory. (Colin, *loc. cit.*)

[6] "Many rings of gold with stones on the fingers." "The last accessory of the gala dress is like our sash, a richly colored cloak thrown over the shoulder and joined under the arm" (even today men wear the *lambong* or mourning)... The Bisayans, instead of this, use robes, well-made without collar, long, reaching until the feet and with colored stripes. The whole garb, in short, Moorish style, and really elegant and rich, they wear even now." (Colin, *loc, cit.*)

[1] This manner of wearing the hair and the long attire of the Bisayans have an analogy to the coiffure and kimono of the Japanese.

[2] *Baro.*

Both men and women, particularly the prominent people, are very clean and neat in their persons, and dress gracefully, and are of good demeanor. They dye their hair and pride themselves with keeping it quite black. They shampoo it with the boiled bark of a tree called *gogo*[3] and anoint it with oil of sesame, perfumed with musk and other sweet-smelling substances. They are all careful of their teeth, and from their early age, they file and even up their teeth with grinders and other implements of stone,[4] etc., and give them a permanent black color which is preserved until their old age, even if it be unpleasant to the eyes[5]

The young and the old ordinarily bathe their entire bodies in the rivers and streams without regard to whether this may be injurious to their health,[6] because they find it to be one of the best remedies to be healthy; and when a child is born, they immediately bathe it and likewise the mother. As a matter of pastime and occupation, the women work with the needle with which they are proficient and they engage in all kinds of needle work. They also weave blankets and spin cotton and keep house for their husbands and parents. They pound the rice which is to be cooked for their meals[1] and prepare the rest of the food. They raise chickens and pigs and do the house chores while their men-folk engage in the work of the fields, fishing, boating and farming. The women both married and otherwise, are not so chaste, while the husbands, parents and brothers are scarcely jealous or careful regarding this matter. Men and women are covetous and money-loving, so that when there is a price, they easily yield[2] and when the husband catches his wife committing infidelity, he is appeased and satisfied without difficulty. Some of those who have associated with the Spaniards and who desire to appear more cultured than the others, have sometimes been known to have killed the adulterers. When both men and women, especially the prominent people, go out for a walk along the streets or to church, they walk with a slow measured dignified step, well accompanied by male and female slaves who carry silk-parasols which they always carry with them for protection from the sun and rain. The ladies walk ahead followed by their female servants and slaves, their husbands, fathers and brothers walking behind them, followed in their turn by their male servants and slaves.[3]

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[3] Rather than the bark it is the body itself of a shrub that is crushed but not cooked. It is strange that Father Buzeta and Bravo, in speaking of the *gogo*, mention its use in mines and washing clothes and not its most common use, which is for washing the hair, as it is used until now by almost all the Indios.

[4] This practice is still done.

[5] This custom also is found in Japan among married women, as a proof of virtue. Today it is declining.

[6] The Spaniards think so but they are mistaken. The Indios are very careful not to take a bath during siesta, after luncheon, the first two days of a catarrh, when they have herpes, some women during menstruation, etc., etc. Fr. Chirino says (chapter X): "They take a bath with the body bent and almost seated for modesty, immersed in the water until the throat, with the greatest care not to be seen, though there may not be anybody who can see them. The most common and most general bathing-hour is sunset ,after the day's work and to carry water home. After a funeral they bathe." This hygienic custom of the inhabitants of the tropics has been preserved in Japan, like many other things that prove the southern origin of some of her inhabitants.

[1] Though this work is not very hard, for the pestle is light, it is now done generally by men, leaving to the women the cleaning of the rice.

Their regular daily food is rice, crushed by wooden *pilons* or pounders, which is cooked and is then called *morisqueta*,[4] and this constitutes the daily mainstay for the entire country, together with boiled fish of which there is an abundance, and pork or venison, likewise meat of wild buffalo or carabao. They prefer meat and fish, saltfish which begin to decompose and smell.[5] They also eat boiled sweet-potatoes which resemble the ordinary potatoes, kidney-bean, *quilitis*, and other vegetables, all kinds of bananas, guavas, pineapples, *anonas* or custard-apples, oranges and other citruses, and other various kinds of fruit and vegetables which abound in the land.

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[2] This weakness of Indio women that historians relate, it seems, can be attributed not only to the sincerity with which they obey nature and their own instincts but also to a religious belief that Fr. Chirino tells us about. "A doctrine planted the devil in some women of these islands and I believe in all who cannot be saved, be they married or marriageable, is the woman who does not have some lover. Because they say he will help them in the next life by leading them by the hand in crossing a very dangerous river that has no bridge but a very narrow piece of timber which must be crossed in order to reach what they call *Kalualhatian*." (Chirino, chapter XIX). As to the rest, the priest-historians relating the missons in the first years of Christianization, give numerous examples of the chastity of young women who resisted and preferred death to surrendering to the violence and threats of the soldiers and *encomenderos*. This weakness for the "pay", we believe, is not a defect monopolized by Filipino men and women. We find it everywhere in the world, in Europe itself so satisfied with its morality and throughout its history, many times connected with crimes, scandals, *etc., etc.* The cult of Venus, Priapus, Bacchus, *etc.*, the orgies and Bacchanalia, the history of prostitution in Christian Europe, and above all in the Rome of the popes, prove that in this matter there is no nation that can throw the first stone. At any rate, today the Filipino women have no reason to blush before the women of the most chaste nation of the world.

[3] This custom can still be seen in some places.

[4] *Morisqueta* to the Spaniards, because the Tagalogs call it *kanin.*

They drink that which drips out of the tender flowers of the coconut-trees and of the *nipa*-palms which are abundant and which are raised like vineyard-grapes although with less care and difficulty. Upon taking the tuba[1] juice from the palms, they distil the same in their containers, stoves and other utensils, and when it is fermented it becomes strong or light liquor which is drunk throughout the Islands. It becomes a clear fluid like water but very strong and dry. When used moderately, it is medicinal for the stomach and good for phlegms and other kinds of rheums. When mixed with Spanish wine, it becomes a pleasant liquor which is tasteful and wholesome.

The natives of these Islands drink this liquor in the day and night without end in their meetings, weddings, feasts and circles, accompanied by singing by a few who are so inclined and who come to drink and have a good time, although this habit does not carry with it, according to their estimation, any dishonor or infamy.[2]

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[5] This is another preoccupation of the Spaniards who, like any other nation, in the matter of food, loathe that to which they are not accustomed or is unknown to them. The English, for example, is horrified on seeing a Spaniard eating snails; to the Spaniard beefsteak is repugnant and he can't understand how raw beefsteak can be eaten; the Chinese who eat *tahuri* and shark cannot stand Roquefort cheese *,etc., etc.* The fish that Morga mentions does not taste better when it is beginning to rot; all on the contrary: it is *bagoong*[*] and all those who have eaten it and tasted it know that it is not or ought not to be rotten.

[1] From the Tagalog tuba, juice or sap of the palm tree.

[2] It must be admitted that the Filipino people have improved in this regard, thanks perhaps to the wine monopoly. Today hardly can one see in the provinces one or so drunkard and in Manila only foreign sailors are given to this vice. That drunkenness, however, was not dangerous, for Colin says: "But rarely do they become furious or wild; rather, after drinking, they preserve proper respect and circumspection. They only become more gay and talkative and say some amusing things. But it is known that none of them after leaving a banquet, even at a late hour of the night, fail to reach their home. And if they offer to buy or sell, and touch and weigh gild or silver, they do it with so much circumspection that neither does their hand tremble nor do they make a mistake." (Book I, 61)

[*] *Bagoong* is fish or fish eggs preserved with plenty of salt. Filipinos serve it as relish or sauce. (E.A.)

In some provinces the weapons of these people consist of bows and arrows but generally, throughout the Islands, the arms are medium spears with well-made iron spearheads, shields of light wood with their "coats-of-wood" which are smooth inside, which cover them from head to foot and which they call *carasas*[3]. On their waist they wear a four-inch wide dagger, with a sharp-point a foot long, the handle being uncovered and made of gold or ivory with two plain double edges, and they call it *Bararaos* and have two edges with wooden scabbards or of finely engraved buffalo horns[4]. They are very dexterous when they go after their adversary, by holding him by the hair and with the other hand, they cut his head off with a single blow of the *balaraw*, and carry it away in order to hang it in their house to show it off, so that people will consider them brave and vengeful of their enemies and the evildoers.

After they had watched the Spaniards handle their arms, many of them can handle the arquebusque and musket very well. Formerly they had possessed brass mortars and other pieces of tempered steel with which they defended their forts and towers although their gunpowder was not as refined as that used by the Spaniards.

Their vessels and craft are of many types. In the river and streams inland they use one-mast large canoes or bancas made of boards attached to the keels. There are also the viceroy type and the *barangay* craft which are straight and light craft, with low body held together with wooden tress-nails, as strong in the prow as in the stern, accommodating many rowers on both sides, which craft, likewise have paddles used outside of the craft by expert paddlers who propel the same in unison,[1] thanks to the chanting of their singers of native heroes and their deeds, in their native tongue,[2] for the purpose of quickening or slowing down the rowing of the vessel. Above the rowers' seats, there is a passage-deck made of bamboo where as many fighting-men as the size of the craft requires, pass to and fro, without disturbing the rowers' post. From there is handled the sail which is square and of canvas through a lift made of two thick bamboos, which serves as mast, and when the vessel is large, it also has a foremast of the same kind with their pulleys to lower the sail when the wind is adverse, also its helmsman at the stern to steer the vessel. The vessel also carries another compartment made of bamboo on the same passage-deck on which, when the sun is hot, is placed a cover made of palm-leaves woven together closely to make a thick roof named *Cayanos,*[3] under which is covered the entire personnel and vessel. There is also a cage-like devise made of thick bamboos on both extremes of the vessel, which is strongly attachd to it and which barely touches the water but does not interfere with the rowing but serves to balance and prevent the craft from turning over, howsoever rough the sea may get or howsoever strong the wind may hit the sails. It often happens that the uncovered vessel gets filled with water and capsizes and is destroyed yet it does not sink to the bottom in view of the bamboo balancing devise which serves as a buoy, and also prevents drifting away. This kind of vessels were used throughout the Islands since ancient times, likewise larger vessels known as *bancas* or *vintas* uncovered rowing-craft, *lapis* and *tapakes.* They are used to transport the merchandise and are very appropriate for the purpose because they are roomy and can float on shallow water and can be beached at the mouth of rivers and canals on which they often navigate without going out to sea or far from the land. All natives are able to handle and navigate them. Some are so large that they can carry one hundred rowers sitting on the border and thirty soldiers to top, but the common draft are the *barangays* and the viceroy-type vessels using smaller sails and fewer crew. Many of them no longer use the wooden tree-nails but assorted metal nails, and their rudders and bows use fender-beams and so forth, Spansh style.[1]

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[3] *Kalasag.*

[4] This weapon has been lost and not even its name remains. A proof of the backwardness of the present-day Filipinos in their industries is the comparison of the weapons made today with those described by the historians. The hilts of the *talibones* are neither of gold or ivory, nor ther scabbards of horn, nor are they curiously worked.

[1] *Jostrar* means to join, to match rowing or any other movement, to move in right musical time. (Dominguez, *Diccionario de la Lengua*, etc.)

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[2] "Some songs that they know by memory and they sing in their boats to the movement of the oars, in their rejoicings, feasts, and funerals, and even in their work when they are many. In these songs they relate the fabulous genealogies and vain deeds of their gods." (Colin, book I, chapter XV) It is lamentable that these songs had not been preserved. Through them perhaps much of the past of the Filipinos could be known and perhaps also of the history of the adjacent islands.

[3] In Tagalog it is called *karang.*

The land is covered with shadows[2] everywhere from trees of various kinds and fruit-bearing ones which beautify the country throughout the year, both along the coastline and the meadows and mountains. It is full of large and small rivers giving good drinking-water which flows down to the sea and are navigable and abound in tasteful fishes of all species. There is also an abundance of timber which is cut down and taken to the saw-mills and many logs are floated down the rivers which are mostly navigable. The timber is good for building houses and edifices and for making large and small vessels. Many trees are straight and thick, fit for use as masts for galleys and galleons, both light and flexible, so that any vessel can be equipped with a single mast without need of dovetailing or cutting it into pieces. There is likewise an abundance of timber for hulls of vessels, for their keels, framework, toptimber and any futtock-timbers, breast-hooks, knees and small-knees, upper works and good timber for decks and sides.[2]

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[1] The Filipinos, like the inhabitants of the Marianas who are no less famous and skilled in the art of navigation, far from progressing, have become backward, for, though now boats are built in the Islands, we can say that they are almost all of European model. The ships that carried on hundred rowers as crew and thirty fighting soldiers disappeared. The country that at one time with primitive methods built ships of about 2,000 tons (Hernando de los Ríos, p. 24), now has to resort to foreign ports, like Hong Kong, to give away the gold wrested from the poor in return for unserviceable cruisers. The rivers are obstructed, interior navigation dies, due to the obstacle created by a timid and and distrustful system of government. And of all that naval architecture hardly one name or so is remembered, killed without being replaced by modern advancement in proportion to the centuries that have elapsed, as it has happened in the adjacent countries. And those old vessels in their kind and for their time were so perfect and light, above all those of the Marianas, that sailors and pilots said: "While we moved in one shot of arquebus they gave us six turns so graceful that they cannot be more." (Doc. 47. Academia de la Historia). And they sailed also against the wind and the Spaniards called them shuttles for their swiftness. Why did they not think of perfecting this kind of vessels?

[2] Shady because of the trees.

[3] It seems that because of the excessive construction of ships that later took place some species disappeared or at least became scarce, one of them being the *Betis*. (See S. Vidal y Soler).

There are many fruit-trees in the land such as *santol, mabolo,* tamarind, *nanca* or jack-fruit, *anonas, papayas, guayaba* and various kinds or oranges both small and large, sweet and sour, citrus and lemons, about ten or twelve varieties of bananas,[1] very tasteful and wholesome, many kinds of coconuts with good-taste, from which liquor and common oil is made, very useful for wounds, and other wild palm-trees of the mountain which yield no nuts but which, however, give good trunks, and from the husks of which oakum is obtained, very useful for calking vessels. Efforts have been made to raise olives and quince and other European fruits but so far, they have not succeeded excepting pommegranates and grapes which yield excellent fruits after two years, and quite abundantly and three times a year; likewise figs. Vegetables of all kinds thrive in abundance but they do not seed well, and it is necessary to bring seeds from Castile, China or Japan.

In the Province of Cagayan there are chestnut-trees that produce nuts, and in other places there are pine-trees and other kinds of trees which produce large kernels and strong good-tasting nuts which are known by the name of piles.[2] There is an abundance of cedar which is called *calanta* and also fine red timber called *asana,* also ebony, a variety of which is better than the rest, and other much esteemed woods fit for every elaborate purpose. The meats usually eaten are pork which is abundant, tasteful and wholesome; beef of which there is plenty in many parts of the islands, considerable breeding-stations and ranches[3] where cattle are raised. They originated in China and New Spain. The cattle from China are small and very prolific and have small and curved horns which they use and butt with. They carry a large hump on their shoulders and are quite tame. There is a large variety of chickens like those of Castile and others still larger, the breed having been brought over from China, and they taste well and make good capons. Some of the hens are black in their feathers, skin, flesh and bones and they taste good.[4] There are broods of geese, swans, ducks and tame doves or squabs brought over from China. There is an abundance of wild game such as deer and wild boar, and in some places, purcopine, buffalos called carabaos which are raised in the fields and there are fierce carabaos aside from the tame ones brought from China, of which there are a great number, and very beautiful ones only useful for dairy purposes, their milk being thicker and better tasting than cow's milk.

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[1] Buzeta and Bravo say that there are more than 57 species. (p. 35)

[2] Pili nut.

[3] There was such an abundance of cattle that Fr. Gaspar de San Agustín says, speáking about Dumangas (p. 259): "This convent has an extensive farm for cattle, of so many cows that there was a time when they were over 30,000... and this farm also has many and very fine horses."

Goats are also raised although owing to the dampness of the land, their flesh does not taste good and they easily get sick and die on this account, also because they eat certain poisonous plants. Although sheep have been imported several times from New Spain, they have never multiplied, so that they are scarce in the land now[1] as it seems that both the climate and pasture lands are not quite appropriate for them. There were no horses, mares or donkeys in the Islands until the Spaniards had them brought over from China and from New Spain. There are donkeys and mules but few in number, but a great number of horses and mares; and some ranches are full of them, and most of these have been raised here and are half-breeds, and good specimens having fine colors and are well-developed and very satisfactory for work even if only middle-sized. Those brought from China are small, strong and have a good pace, quite treacherous, restless and not so well-developed. There are brought from Japan some horses with good colors, stout, heavy and bristly with large bones and feet, looking like dray horses, with large heads, strong mouths, are poor runners but good pacers, lively and with good determination. Their regular fodder throughout the year is the green *camalote*,[2] unhusked rice which makes them become fat.

There is an abundance of country-fowl, wild game of fine colors, very nice in appearance. There are also no singing-birds fit to keep in cages, although from

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[4] The flesh of these chickens that the Tagalogs called *ulikba* is said to have medicinal value.

[1] They exist however now, though little esteemed.

[2] *Zacate* or *sakate*, that is, grass fodder.

Japan there have been brought some calendar larks which are smaller than the Spanish kind which sing finely and are called *fimbaros*. There are many turtle-doves some very green-colored pigeons besides wild doves or pigeons, said green ones having very red feet and bills, while some pigeons are white with a red spot on the breast like the pelican. In the place of quails, there are fowl resembling them although smaller known as *ponos*[1] and some small *maya* birds. There are likewise some wild cocks and chickens which are very small and which taste like partridges. They also have royal herons both white and brown also fly-catchers and sea-birds, ducks, *lauancos*, egrets, sea-crows, eagles, *buharros*[2] and other birds of prey, although one of them are used like falcons for hunting[3]. There are jays and thrushes as in Spain, storks and cranes. They do not raise turkeys, rabbits[4] or hares, although they sometimes use them too. They either eat or destroy the wild, destructive animals living in the mountains and fields such as wild cats, foxes, badgers, large and small rats which abound, also other land-animals.

An infinite number of small and large monkeys thrive and sometimes bend the branches of the trees, throughout the Islands. There are likewise green and white parakeets[5] but they are poor talkers, also very small parrots bearing green and red colors, called *kulasisi* which also do not talk[6]. The hills and settlements abound in snakes of different colors, the ordinary ones being larger than those in Castile. Some boa-constrictors have been seen in the mountains which are strangely large and admirable in appearance. The most dangerous snakes are very thin and shorter, and they drop from the trees where they usually live, on those who pass below, and sting them. Their poison is so active that the victim dies of madness within four hours.

In the rivers and streams there are very large and small scorpions and a great number of very fierce and cruel crocodiles which frequently get the natives from their bancas on which they ride. They work a great havoc on the cattle and horses in the ranches when they go to the river to drink water. However much the people may trap, catch and kill them, these reptiles hardly seem to diminish in number. For this reason, the natives build on the border of their rivers and streams in their settlements where they bathe,—traps and fences with thick enclosures and bars of bamboo and timber within which they do their bathing and washing, secure from these monsters which they fear and respect to the degree of veneration, as if they were somehow superior to them.[1] Likewise, these reptiles are involved or mentioned in their oaths, execrations, etc. hurled to their important hated people,—even among Christians,—in the Buhayan Moro language, thus: "May the crocodiles kill him!" and there have been cases where God has permitted those who have sworn falsely or broken their promise, to become victims of the crocodiles, in view of their violation of the authority and purity of the truth or promise.[2]

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[1] *Pogos* from the Tagalog *pugo*, a small bird.

[2] *Buhos*, a species of owl.

[3] It might allude to falconry or hunting with falcons.

[4] Now there are house rabbits and turkeys abound.

[5] *Kakatua* or *katala*.

[6] *Kulasisi, Tagalog name*

Fishing of all kinds of fish in the sea or in fresh waters of rivers and streams, is very greatly indulged in and is quite productive; in fact, this industry is quite general in the entire country and is considered a natural activity for the self-support of all the people. There is an abundance of good sardines, bass, sea-breams called *bacocos*, dace ells, *bicuda*, *tanguingue*, flounders, plantanos[3] and *tarakitos*, pin-pointed fish, golden fish, eels, large and small oysters, mollusks, crabs, shrimps, sea-spiders, marine crabs and all kinds of mollusks, etc., also shad and white fish. In the Tagus River[4] (Rio Grande) of Cagayan, in the proper season, there is an abundance of booby-fish which come to shallow water in the bay to spawn. In the Bonbon lake, many tunny fish not as large as those in Spain, although having the same shape, flesh and taste, can be caught during the proper season. The seas are full of large fishes such as whales, sharks, *caellas*, *bufeo* cetaceans, and other unknown species having unusual size and shape. In the year fifteen hundred nine-six, during a great storm occurring then in the Islands, there was stranded a fish so large and strangely deformed that although the water was three and one half *brazas* or three meters deep, it was no longer able to swim again and it died there. The natives said they had never seen before an animal having a similar appearance, and it had two horns on it which dropped down its back. Another such fish was brought to Manila and it was covered with its thick skin or hide, having no bristles or scales, being white, large and about twenty feet long, bulky from the head and torso and thinning down proportionately to its tail, being a little hunch-backed and not quite round-looking, very solid and, all in all, causing extreme surprise among those who saw it.[1]

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[1] Perhaps for the same reason, other nations have great esteem for the lion and bear, putting them on their shields and giving them honorable epithets. The mysterious life of the crocodile, the enormous size that it sometimes reaches, its fatidical aspect, without counting any more its voraciousness, must have influenced greatly the imagination of the Malayan Filipinos.

[2] Also there had been friars eaten by crocodiles while the Indios who accompanied them were able to escape; in this case, however, historians give a favorable explanation of the happening and a different one when the victim is an Indio.

[3] If our memory does not fail us, in the Philippines there is a fish called *pampano*.

[4] The Rio Grande.

Approximately five leagues from Manila there is a large fresh-water lake having considerable fish in it, to which several streams flow, and which debouches to the sea by means of a river running through Manila. It is called the Lake of Bai. It is thirty leagues around it, having an uninhabited island[2] in the middle where much hunting can be had. Along the coast of the lake are several towns inhabited by natives who navigate extensively on the same from one coast to another with their craft. At times its waters become very troubled and dangerous to those sailing thereon and especially when the North winds blow, roughening it extremely although its coasts are easy to land on.

There is another lake in the province of Bonbon (Batangas) bearing the same name, and although it is not so large, it abounds with fish. The method of fishing used by the natives is that of making corrals or traps made of rattan vines which are very flexible, strong, thin and solid, made into strong cables for their vessels and other purposes. These traps are attached posts stuck into the bottom of the lake and they gather the fish caught from said traps through wicker and bamboo baskets and smaller and various fishing-nets besides other contrivances and also fishing-rods. The ordinary food of the natives is a very small fish which is netted, dried in the sun or air, then cooked in various ways; and they enjoy them better than the larger fishes. Among them they call this fish *laulau*[1].

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[1] In former times and about the middle of this century, there were found also along the Pacific coasts of Luzon, various monsters which we don't know if they have been studied.

[2] Talim Island.

In lieu of olives and other aperitive fruits, they have a green, very small fruit, more diminutive than a nut, called *paos*[2] which comes in several sizes, but all smaller than the mango, which when properly prepared for eating, has a good taste when served as pickles or brined. They likewise prepare *charas*[3] and other vebetables in a similar manner, making good appetizers.

There is an abundance of ginger which is eaten raw, in vinegar or pickled, likewise much *cachumba*,[4] a plant giving both taste and color, used in cooking in the place of safforn and spices. The regular delicacy offered throughout these Islands and in other countries in the Asian mainland, is the *buyo* or betel which is made out of a leaf of plant[5] or vine resembling the mulberry leaf, coupled with a seed or nut from the areca palm[6] which is whitish inside. This nut called *bonga* is cut lengthwise into slices and placed inside the rolled betel leaf with a bit of very wet quick-lime.[7] This rolled tidbit is placed in the mouth and chewed. It is so strong and stimulating that later it induces sleep and intoxication. Those not used to it get their mouth feeling as if burned. Its addicts get their mouth and saliva turn red like blood, and obtain a taste which is not unpleasant. After it has been chewed for some time and it has no longer any juice, it is spit out of the mouth as *zapa*[8] or bagasse. Whatever juice may have entered the stomach is advantageous and tastes good to the user and for certain ailments, it strengthens and fortifies the teeth and preserves the gums from any rheums; and many claim it to be a panacea with wonderful results for many illnesses. What one can observe is that the *buyo*-chewing is indulged in by the natives and the Spaniards, both laymen and priests, men and women, so commonly and regularly, that in the morning and afternoon, during meetings or visits whether sitting alone in the house or with company, everybody is affected by the *buyo* rage or fashion which makes use of certain well presented *buyo* or betel goldén plates or service sets, just as in New Spain they also indulge in sipping chocolate. Many have been given poison through these means and have died of it, and this occurrence is not infrequent.

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[1] What is now called *lawlaw* is the salted and dried sardine. It seems that the author refers to the *tawilis* of Batangas, or *dilis*, whch is smaller and a large quantity of it is eaten by the natives.

[2] Paho. A kind of mango, very small, 1 1/2 to 5 centimeters long, with soft stone and strong smell.

[3] Pickles.

[4] In Tagalog *kasubha*. It comes from the Sanskrit *Kasumbha*. Malay, *Kasumba*. T. H. Pardo de Tavera, (*El Sánscrito en la lengua tagalog*).

[5] It is not a tree but a vine which is cultivated by making it climb bamboo poles placed in the middle of small canals that serve for waterng every two days. A plantation of betel, or *ikmo* as the Tagalogs call it.

[6] Everybody knows that this fruit is not of the betel or *buyo* but of the *bonga* (Tagalog *bunga*), or of the areca palm.

[7] Not quicklime but very hydrated lime.

It is a habit among the well-to-do natives, as a show of greatness and luxury, to carry with them when they go out of their houses, their brassware service and sets of *buyo* or *betel*, the *buyo* rolls being placed on the containers apart from the loose leaves, the bonga or nuts and the wet lime. These sets curiously made of brass and other materials and substances include separate containers for the scissors or cutters and other utencils for handling this delicacy are kept with great care; and wherever they go they take time out to make these buyo rolls and chew them. In the Parian or market and elsewhere they sell this delicacy extensively as well as the articles that go to make a *buyo* service or set.

As to poisons and venoms, the natives of these Islands ordinarily use the herbs having these properties which abound in every one of them. They are so deadly and efficacious that they produce miraculous results. There is a lizard somewhat greenish-black abounding especially in buildings, one palm's length and three fingers thick, known in Spanish as chacón[1] which, enclosed tightly in a bamboo cylinder emits a certain fluid or saliva which,[2] when mixed with food or drink, renders the same poisonous. By pressing the body of this lizard this liquid is obtained and when mixed as already stated with anything to be eaten or drunk, howsoever small the quantity may be it becomes a strong poison. There are also other plants or herbs known to and gathered by the natives for the same purpose, some used dry and others fresh, which are given with food or used in fumigation as the case may be, while some others need only to be touched by the hands and feet, or to be sat down or laid down on, to take effect actively and thus poison the victim to death. The natives are so clever in making compounds of this nature that they prepare and apply the herbs so that the same may produce the deadly effect immediately or after a long or short time as may be desired; in fact even at the end of one year.[1] Ordinarily many persons die miserably by poisoning, particularly the Spaniards who are imprudent, bad behaving or who are hated for ill-treating the natives with whom they have any dealings in connection with the collection of taxes or in other matters in which the natives are employed against their will, the matter being beyond any remedy. There are some herbs which are so poisonous that when they go to gather them they carry with them some herb-antidotes; and in the Island of Bohol, there is a plant that in order to cut it from the main trunk, they approach it from a direction against the wind for the reason that the mere smell of it carried by the wind is deadly. Nature has not left this danger unprovided for, because in these Islands there are other herbs and roots which are so effective and potent that they render the poison from other plants ineffective and harmless and they are used when there is great for them. Thus when it is known what particular poisonous plant has been used, it is not difficult to offset it when it is done on time by applying the herb which is contrary to said poison. It has happened on certain occassions that the suspect of having caused the poisoning has been forcibly compelled to bring the antidote-herb and thus prevent the evil. There are also other general antidote herbs for the purpose of preserving one's system as well as for offsetting the poison administered. However, the most effective ones are certain violet-colored flies or woodbugs to be found among the bushes of the Visayan Islands (of the tattooed natives) which, when enclosed in a clean bamboo cylinder tightly stopped, multiply inside and are fed with pounded rice and kept enclosed for about eight days after which the rice is removed and new rice given them to keep them alive. Six of these flies when taken in a spoonful of wine or water, —they have no offensive odor and taste like common cress—produce a miraculous effect. This is ususally done as a preventive against poisoning, when one goes to dinners or feasts of a suspicious nature, and it preserves and secures one from every danger of poisoning.

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[8] *Sapá.*

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[1] Tagalog *tukó.*

[2] The period must be a typographical error (in the Spanish orignal).

[1] The present toxicology in the Philippines is very backward, a backwardness that perhaps should be appreciated science ought to regret it. There remains very little empirical knowledge.

Throughout these Islands are certain places where there is an abundance of rich gold deposits and other mineral products which are collected by the natives through washing or placer-mining. However, after the Spaniards had settled in the land, the natives became more lax in the mining of gold,[1] contenting themselves with what they already had in the form of jewelry and ancient ingots of gold, inherited from their forebears, which were abundant in themselves. In fact, poor and indigent was indeed the one who did not possess gold-chains, bracelets and earrings.

In Paracale, in the Province of Camarines, certain placer and other mines were developed and worked. Likewise, in Ilocos this commodity was also being traded, because behind this province which is on the sea-cost, there are highlands which run and extend to Cagayan inland where along the sources of the streams, live many natives who have not been as yet pacified, called Igorrots, whose country has not yet been penetrated by outsiders. They have rich mines of gold besides silver, of which they get as much mineral as they need for their uses. They take their still unrefined and unperfected gold to certain appointed places where they meet the people from Ilocos, where, for their gold, they are given in trade, rice, pigs, carabaos, blankets and other articles which they need.[2] The Ilocanos refine and finish the gold and market the same throughout the plains and the country. Although efforts have been made in order to ascertain the whereabouts of their mines and the manner in which they work them and get the mineral from the ground, nothing has been learned or ascertained regarding the matter, because they were suspicious that the Spaniards would not hesitate to go and get their mines for themselves. It was said that the Igorrots felt that their gold was kept more securely in the ground than in their own homes or settlements.[3]

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[1] The Indios on seeing that wealth aroused the capacity of the *encomenderos* and soldiers, abandoned the work in the mines, and priest-historians relate that, in order to save them from vexations, they recomended to them such procedure. However, according to Colin, "informed from good sources" in his time was obtained from the Islands the value of 100,000 pesos in gold on an average annually after 80 years of discouragement and abandonment. According to "a manuscript of an old and serious person of these Islands, the first tribute of only the provinces of Ilocos and Pangasinan amounted to 109,500 pesos. One *encomendero* alone in 1587 sent from Manila on the ship *Santa Ana* that Cavendish seized, 3,000 taels of gold.

In the rest of the Islands, there is the same abundance of placer and other mines, particularly in the Visayas, Butuan River in Mindanaw and Cebu, where presently a mine called Talibon is being developed, which yields very good gold. If all the activities and efforts of the Spaniards were concentrated on the development of gold-mining, there could be obtained from any of these Islands as much gold as from any possessions in the world. However, since they are giving more importance to other industries than to gold-mining, they will be discussed in the proper place more extensively than the latter.

In the waters along the coasts of these Islands, there are to be gathered, *ostia de perlas*[1] particularly in the Calamianes, and some have been obtained which are quite large and fine and very oriental. Neither is there any business of importance done in this line, and throughout the country everywhere there is often to be found inside the ordinary mother-of-pearl shells, imperfect pearls and mothers-of-pearls as large as warrior-shields, out of which curious articles are made by hand. There are likewise seaturtles throughout the islands, so large that their shells are profited by the natives who sell them as trade-commodities to the Chinese, the Portuguese and other nationals, who come to buy them and who esteem them very much, because they make many curios out of them.

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[2] This was forbidden later.

[3] And in truth they were right!

[1] Mother-of-pearl.

Along the coasts of any of these Islands, there are many shining shells or cowries called *siguey*. The natives pick them and sell them by measure to the Siamese, Cambodians, Portuguese and other nationals of the mainland, where said shells are used as currency with which they purchase things like they do in New Spain with cocoa-beans.

The horns of the carabaos constitute a commodity for China, also the skins of deer, and red-wood for Japan. The natives profit by all these articles in trading with them with these nationals, and derive much advantages thereby.

In this Island of Luzon, especially in the provinces of Manila, Pampanga, Pangasinan and Ilocos, there are to be found ancient earthen *tibors* or jars, brown in color and not so beautiful to look at. Some are of middle size and others are smaller, bearing certain marks and seals, and they cannot explain where they got them from or in what period. At present they are no longer obtainable neither are they manufactured in these Islands, and they are in great demand on the part of the Japanese who prize them very much for the reason that they have discovered that these are the only receptacles in which to properly keep and preserve the roots and leaves of a plant called *cha,*[1] the beverage of which they drink hot and which the Japanese so highly esteem; so that they constitute their most precious and valuable possession, which they keep in their stores and chambers. A jar is worth a great deal of money, and is adorned on the outside with fine gold-plating with much elaboration, and is covered with brocade cloth, so that there are vases which are worth or sold for two thousand eleven-*reales* (pieces of eleven) taels each, or less, as the case may be, even if it is slightly dented or has a flaw, for the reason that this is of no consequence so long as tea can be safely kept in them. The natives of these islands sell these articles to the Japanese as best they can, and take pains to look for them for this purpose; and as a matter of fact, these vases have become very scarce owing to the great demand there is for them.[2]

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[1] Tea, which was not much used then.

Once in a while, the natives find large chunks of ambergris along the coasts, which they are already acquainted with, inasmuch as they know that the Spaniards esteem it very much, and have made it a commodity for trading. Last year, sixteen hundred and two, in the Island of Cebu, the natives found a large piece of ambergris, and as the news of it spread and reached the ears of the *encomendero* or grant-holder, he took it secretly for himself, charging it to tribute or taxes. It was said that it weighed a great number of pounds, and that it was sold by the ounce at a high price.[3]

In the Island of Mindanao, in the province and river of Butuan, which have been pacified and granted as *encomienda* to the Spaniards, the natives have another industry or trade which is quite profitable. Inasmuch as there is an abundance of wild or civet cats, although they are smaller than the Guinea civets, the natives get the musk or perfume out of the cats and sell or trade the same, doing good and easy business thereby. During the crescent moon, the natives go out with nets to catch civets, a considerable number of which get caught. Once they have removed the muak out of them, they let them loose again[1] Likewise, they keep some of the civets, put them in cages and sell them all over the country at modest prices.

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[2] Dr. Jagor, in his famous work Reisen in den *Philippinen* (Berlin, 1873) in chapter XV deals with these jars, describing some, giving very curious and interesting details about their history, shape, and value, some of which reach enormous prices, like those of the sultan of Borneo who scorned the price of 100,000 pesos offered for one of them. Dr. Jagor himself, while in the Philippines, was able to get one, found in one of the excavations undertaken in Ligmanan (Camarines Sur) with other prehistoric objects belonging to the bronze age, as attended by knives made of this metal and the absence of iron, *etc.* It is a pity that those objects had not been studied better. Discovering these very precious jars in Cambodia, Siam, Cochin-china, the Philippines, and other adjacent islands, and their manufacture dating to a very remote epoch, the study of their form, structure, seals and inscriptions, would perhaps give us a key to finding a common center of civilization for these peoples.

[3] "And not long ago", says Colin, (1663)) "was found close to the island of Jolo a piece that weighed more than eight *arrobas* of the best quality that there is, which is the gray." It seems that this piece came into the possession of the Jesuits and later a governor took a part of it.

Cotton is also raised throughout the islands, and they spin it into thread and sell it by skeins to the Chinese and other nationals who come over to trade in it. They also weave blankets in various ways which they also sell or trade,[2] likewise clothes made out of the fibre of bananas,[3] the cloth known as *medriñaque.*

The Babuyanes consist of many but small islands, and they lie on the head or point of Cagayan Province, inhabited by natives whose principal trade is to come to Cagayan in *tapaque* vessels carrying pigs, chickens, provisions and ebony spears, to sell. These islands are subject to no *encomienda* or grant, neither is any tribute collected from them, and there are no Spaniards living among them, as they are less civilized and orderly people. There have been no converts to Christianity among them, neither have they any system of Government.[4]

On the opposite end of Luzon, there are other islands on the frontier of Camarines province, on fourteen degrees latitude north of the Espiritu Santo channel, and they are called the Catanduanes islands. They are well populated by natives who are good and subject to Spanish *encomenderos*, having parish schools, churches and a mayor who governs them. Most of them are laborers, while others are engaged in working placer gold-mines and in trading from one province to another on the Luzon mainland, which is very near to them.[5]

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[1] It seems that this industry is now very much forgotten, for nothing more is heard of it.

[2] "Not only did they have large harvest of rice but also of cotton which they wove into textile for their garments and which is very much esteemed in New Spain... Out of cotton textile alone there was an *encomendero* who left a fortune of more than 50,000 accumulated in a few years." This is what Chirino says, writing in 1903, that is, 31 years after the creation of the *encomiendas.* This is not surprising, because it is known how the encomenderos exploited the Indios. Now they demanded from them blankets at the lowest prices that did not reach the eighth part of their real value, now they cheated them in weights and measures, *etc., etc.* which so discouraged the industrious Filipinos that little by little they abandoned their looms destroying them and burning them for which they were vexed and oppressed.

[3] Perhaps Morga refers to the *sinamay,* an abaca textile, made of the fiber of *Musa Textilis;* the abaca is obtained from the trunk and not from the leaves.

[4] Besides this the islands are so very small that the little benefit that they could give did not arouse either the zeal or the charity of the missionaries.

There is in the coast of the Island of Luzon in the South, less than one hundred leagues from the Cape of Espiritu Santos, through which the Capul Channel is entered, a bay about thirty leagues wide having a narrow channel; and in the middle thereof, there is an island lying across it making it narrower, and is called Miraveles.[1] It is approximately two leagues long, and a half league wide, with elevated thickly-wooded land, having a settlement of about fifty natives,[2] where the guard or sentinel of the bay has his headquarters and residence. There are channels on both points of the island through which to enter the bay, one being half a league on the South with a lighthouse in the middle called the Friar Island, and another on the northern part which is narrower; and through these two channels all ocean-going vessels enter and leave the bay. The entire bay is fathomable and clear, having many landing-places everywhere. From these channels to the settlement of Manila and the river sand-bar, there are eight leagues. Two leagues from Manila in the Southern part of the bay, there is a large cove having an elevated point which covers the same, on which is a settlement of natives, called Cavite, and the cove acquires its name from the town. It serves as a port for all vessels, is very large and safe from the Southeast, Southwest, West and Southeast, North-north-east and North winds. It has a good, clear and fathomable landing-place. There is a good channel, over one league and a half wide, through which the vessels may enter and leave the port. All around the bay are good and abundant fish supplies and communities thickly settled by natives. North of Manila, there is a Province over twenty leagues in size called Pampanga, having many streams and canals which irrigate the same, all of which flow to the Bay, said province being well-populated by natives, and abounding in rice,[3] fruits, fish, meat and other supplies and provisions.

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[5] The men of these islands are great carpenters and shipbuilders "who make many of them and very light ones and thy take them to be sold in the territory in a very strange way: They make a large ship without covering nor iron nail nor futtock timbers and they make another that fit in the hollow of it, and inside it they place another so that in a large biroco there go ten and twelve boats that they call *biroco, virey, barangay,* and *binitan.*" They went "painted, and they were such great rowers and sailors that though they sink many times, they never drown." The women are very manly. "They don't drink from the river though the water is very clear because they loathe it... "The women's dress is modest and elegant becausee they wear their skirts in Bisayan style, of fine stuff Their hair is gathered and very well dressed. They put a flower on top of their head. On the forehead they wear a band of very fine hammered gold, two fingers in width, very elegantly made, and lined with colored silk on the side where it touches the forehead. They wear on their ears, on each on three hoops of gold, one in the place where the Spanish women wear theirs, and the two above it. On their feet they wear some brass ornaments that make a sound when they walked..." (Colin, book 1, chap. VI) These islands have also gone backwards.

[1] Today it is called Island of Corregidor.

[2] It seems that its present population (if there is any) has greatly diminished.

The sand-bar of the Manila River in the same bay lies by the City of Manila (walled city) on the one side, and Tondo on the other, and is scarcely anchorable in view of the sand banks or deposits it contains, which are continually being added to by the heavy rains and floods; so that even past said sand-bar any vessel can anchor in said river. However, with the exception of frigates, viceroy-type craft and other small vessels, ocean-going vessels cannot generally enter the river; and the galleys, galliots and Chinese junks which can anchor in shallow water, cannot come in unless they are first unloaded, in spring-tides or by towing. These larger vessels have to anchor in the bay beyond the sand-bar; and inasmuch as there is not much security from unfavorable weather there, they usually proceed to the port of Cavite.

Twenty leagues from the Capul Channel in the same island of Luzon, there is another port protected from the winds having a good entrance-channel and anchorage, called Ibalon,[1] where vessels find a haven whenever they are lashed by storms and where they are repained until fair weather enables them to enter Manila waters, which are eighty leagues away.

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[3] This province half a century later had so declined in population and agriculture that Gaspar de San Agustín said: "In these days the people do not have as much as in the past on account of the rebellion of that province when Mr. Sabiniano Manrique de Lara was governor of these Islands and of the continous work of cutting of timber for the building of ships of His Majesty which prevent them from cultivating the very fertile lowland that they have." And further, speaking of Guagua or Wawa: "Formerly this town was very rich for the numerous chiefs it had and the abundant harvests they gathered in some spacious lowlands which at present are overflown with sea water."

[1] Now the Port of Sorsogon.

Along the coasts of Pangasinan, Ilocos and Cagayan, there are some ports and sand-bars where vessels may come and anchor, such as Marihuma,[2] the port of the Friar,[3] Bolinao, the Pangasinan sand-bar, Vigan. Camalayuga bar at the mouth of the Tagus River, two leagues upstream of which is the principal settlement of Cagayan, aside from other rivers, sand-bars, coves and other lesser havens available for smaller vessels, along the coasts of Luzon Island.

Near the large Island of Luzon, there are several other large and small islands similar to the former, inhabited by natives who are like those of Luzon. They work in placer mines[4] and farms and are engaged in other industries as well. Said islands are Marinduque, Tables, Masbate, Burias, Banton, Bantonillo and other lesser ones of which latter the one nearest Manila is Mindoro, which is over eighty leagues long and almost two hundred leagues in circumference. It has many settlements of similar natives[5] on the side where it bounds with the province of Balayan (Batangas) and Calilaya, and is so near the Island of Luzon that it is only separated from it by a narrow strait which is featured by strong currents, and troubled waters about half a leaque wide, through which vessels ply to and from Manila under strong currents and winds, most of the time. Here lies the principal settlement in the island of Mindoro which has a port call *The Veradero* or shipyard for large vessels, aside from the other places of anchorage and sand-bars in the same island for smaller vessels, also many settlements of natives all along the coast of the island; all of which localities abound in rice and food supplies, placer-mines and all kinds of game and forest products.

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[2] The present port of Mariveles?

[3] Subik?

[4] It seems that it can be deduced from the frequent mention of placers that in those times the Indios devoted themselves with eagerness to gold mining not only to washing the sand for gold but also to doing the real work of the mines, because the Spaniards inspected gold mines of *ten estados* deep and they found *some implements* used by the Indios." (Gaspar de San Agustín).

[5] Now Mindoro is so depopulated that the Minister of Overseas Colonies, in order to remedy this effect of Spanish colonization, wants to send to that island the most dissolute from Spain to see if great beasts can be made into good settlers and farmers. Any way, considering the condition of the people who are going there, undoubtedly the following generation will know how to defend themselves and live so that the island will not be depopulated again.

The Cape of Espiritu Santo which is sighted upon entering Philippine waters from vessels coming from New Spain, on an island called Tendaya[1] is situated thirteen degrees latitude, and twenty leagues further along the coast from said Cape of Espiritu Santo. To the South is the island of Piri and other ones, which become visible when a channel can be entered leading to Cebu Island called San Juanillo, made by these islands, which is neither satisfactory nor clear for ocean-going vessels. However, on the Northern side after leaving said channel, the Island of Capul is reached, causing a strait and channel with strong currents and waves, half way of which stands an island called San Bernardino where the vessels pass. Said strait is formed by the coast of the Island of Luzon and that of Capul. The channel must be a league long, and less than one league wide.

Having entered this channel, and as one leaves the same, there are three small islets in triable called *Naranjos* (orange) Islands, which are high with steep rocks, against which vessels may be dashed owing to the strong currents there; and great inhabited, but the others,[2] are large ones, having several large native settlements which are provided with all kinds of food supplies.

To the southern part of these, lie the Visayan Islands called the lands of the tattooed people, which are many and well-populated and are named Leyte, Ibabao,[3] Samar, Bohol, Island of Negros, Cebu, Panay, Cuyo and the Calamianes. All the natives who inhabit them, both men and women, are good-looking and of good dispostion, living in better conditions and having nobler manners than those in the island of Luzon and surrounding ones.

They differ in the way they wear their hair, as the men wear a queue as was the old custom in Spain, and their bodies are tattooed with many designs, with the exception of the face.[1] They wear large earrings of gold and ivory, also bracelets of the same material on their arms, a kerchief around their head making a hollow in the manner of a turban, interwoven with golden strips with graceful knots, *vaquero* shirts, with tight sleeves without collar, falling down to the middle of the thighs, closed in front and made of colored hemp or silk fabric. They don't use under-shirts or drawers but long gee-strings with many folds, with which they cover the middle parts when they remove their garments. The women are good-looking, neat and they walk gracefully. They have long black hair wound around the head, wear multi-colored blankets or sheets around the waist falling down their legs, and dresses of the same material, without any collar. The men and women go out without any outer garments and barefooted,[2] but well-adorned with gold-chains and engraved earrings and bracelets.

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[1] Samar. This is a proof against Colin who places Tendaya in Leite.
[2] Capul, Viri, and others.
[3] South east of Samar.

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[1] The paintings are very elegant and very proportional... if they would bring them to Europe they would earn much money by exhibiting them." (Chirino, chap. VII). Colin says, however, that they painted their chins and eyebrows. Concerning the manner how they did it, Colin gives more details: "The painting was done (after the artisans had made the drawing according to the proportion of the parts of the body and to the sex) with some kind of a brush or a bundel of thin cane nibs with which they pricked and marked the body until blood came out. On this they sprinkled a powder or soct made of pitch of black color that would never be erased. They did not paint the whole body at once but part by part and formerly they did not begin to paint until after they have done some deed of valor. Children were not painted but the women painted one whole arm and part of the other. Men painted their bodies on this island of Manila also in the Ilocos, but not as much as in the Bisayas. (Colin, book I, chap. XIV) In the Philippines the Negritos, Igorots, and other independent tribes are now tattooed. The Christians have forgotten the practice. As we have noted in another part, this tattooing has much resemblance to what the Japanese practice today. Nevertheless, it seems that the Filipinos did not use any other color but black, while the Japanese used various colors, like blue and red, bringing the art to a rare perfection. On other Pacific islands, women tattoo themselves almost as much as men do, which differentiate them from Japanese women and Filipino women of old. Consult the interesting work of Dr. Wilhelm Joest about tattooing: *Taetowiren Narbenzaichnen und Koerperbemahlen*, Berlin, 1887, in which he discusses the subject succinctly.

[2] This is incomprehensible after all that has been said and what Chirino tells us: "Not even for that do they go about naked... and in all places they are circumspect and careful in covering their bodies with extreme modesty and bashfulness." (Chap. VII)
It seems that what Morga wants to say here is that they wore nothing over their ordinary dress when they went out in contrast to the Tagalogs, men and women, who always put on a kindof cloak for outside the house.

Their weapons consist of long knives and short and curved ones with single-edged ones, spears and cuirasses. They use vessels and sea-craft similar to those used by the natives of Luzon, and are engaged in the same occupations and raise the same fruits and have the same industries as in all the other islands. These Visayans are less inclined to tilling of the soil, and are proficient seamen and fond of the spoils and prizes of war and aggressive expeditions which they call *Mangubat*[3] or warlike enterprises, which are equivalent to going out to pillage.

In the Island of Cebu, and near the principal settlement, there is a fine port for all kinds of vessels, having a good entrance-channel protected from all adverse weather conditions, with good anchorage and landing facilities, aside from the other ports and sand-bars for lesser craft, and smaller in importance and reputation, existing in all the other islands.

This island of Cebu is one over one hundred leagues in circumference and has abundant provisions, having mines and gold placers, and is inhabited by natives.

Opposite the same, there are very good, well-populated islands, especially the Island of Panay which is large and has a circumference over one hundred leagues, having many native settlements,[1] and is abundant in rice and wine-producing palm-trees and all kinds of food supplies. Its settlements along the Panay river are good and rich, the most important one being Oton, having a port and sand-bar for galleys and vessels, shipyards for building ocean-going vessels and a good supply of timber for construction purposes.

There are many natives who are proficient in building ocean-going vessels, and close to this island there is an islet eight leagues in circumference, which is well settled by natives who are all carpenters and good artisans who are not engaged in any trade other than said occupation. Although there is not a single tree of any consequence in their island, they profess this trade with great dedication, and they furnish the rest of the islands with artisans in this line, that is, carpentry. They call it the island of the Cagayans.[2]

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[3] *Gubat* in Tagalog is forest or field; *mangubat* means to go hunting in the forest and even to fight.

[1] When the Spaniards arrived at this island (Panay), it was said there were on it more than 50,000 families, but they diminished greatly... and at present they are about 14,000 taxpayers, 6,000 of the Crown and 8,000 of private *encomenderos*." (Gaspar de San Agustín, p. 259). They had many gold mines and in Panay River they got gold by washing the sand; "but driven by the vexations they received from some provincial governors", the same historian says, "they have abandoned the work, prefering to live in poverty to suffering such hardships."

Next to the Island of Cebu to the South, is Mindanao Island, which has a circumference of over three hundred leagues, then follows Jolo or Sulu which is small. To the South of this is Borneo, which is a very large island having a circumference of over five hundred leagues, all of which islands are very well-populated, although this island of Borneo has not yet been pacified and neither is Mindanao entirely so, except only the settlements along the Butuan River, Dapitan and the province and coast of Caraga.

To the South of this Island, and before getting to Borneo are the Calamines Islands numbering several large and small, being well-populated ones with some food provisions, its people being engaged in several lines of industry, but mostly in navigation, trading and communication between the islands also and particularly in fishing. Those who live nearer Borneo, engage in corsair pursuits and in pillaging the natives of other islands.

The ebb and flow, low and high tide of the seas in these islands are irregular, in view of the strong currents running between the islands and of the secret workings of the influence of the moon for which no satisfactory explanation can be found, because even according to the effect of the lunar influence of the month of March, the tides flow higher than other times of the year, yet there is a great variety of daily tides causing surprise and confusion. Some days there are two tides, in the day and night-time, while on other days there is only one tide, while still at other times, the increase of the tide is slight in the daytime while that of the night is considerable whereas ordinarily there is no fixed time for the changing tides. One day it is high at noon-time, while on the next day it happens either earlier or later by several hours; or one day the increase is small and the next day when it is not so expected, it becomes considerable.

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[2] Comparing all this with the present state of things, one need to console himself with the number of employees and friars that swarm all over the Islands in order not to regret too much the backwardness into which we have fallen.

The language spoken in Luzon and adjoining islands is very different from that spoken in the Visayas.[1] In Luzon island there is no uniform language; the Cagayans have their own dialect, the Ilocanos have their own, the Zambaleños too have theirs, and the Pampangos have a dialect all their own, different from the others. The people of Manila province called Tagalogs have a rich and abundant language whereby all that one desires to say can be expressed in varied ways and with elegance, and it is not difficult to learn and to speak the same.

Throughout the Islands, writing is well developed[2] through certain characters or signs resembling the Greek or Arabic, numbering fifteen signs in all, three of which are vowels which serve in lieu of our five vowels. The consonants are twelve. With these and certain points or signs and commas, everything one desires to say can be expressed and spoken fully and easily, just like with our own Spanish alphabet.[1]

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[1] It is not greater than the difference that there is between Spanish and Portuguese or Italian.

[2] The same thing can't be said today. The government in print and in words tries to educate the Filipinos, but in deed and at bottom, it foments ignorance, placing education in the hands of the friars who are accused by Spaniards, Filipinos, and foreigners of wanting the brutalization of the country and they themselves prove it with their behavior and writings.

[1] This assertion and the Tagalog spirit, a lover of simplicity and clarity, contradict the error later aduced by other writers with respect to the imperfect writing and the consequent difficult reading of those characters. We are far from believing that alphabet offers the simplicity and clarity of the Latin, but neither can we accept the belief of other authors who, without knowing thoroughly that writing, claim to find it very imperfect for the difficulty of pronouncing the quiscent consanants. Perhaps the "commas" mentioned served for this purpose, the dots being the signs of the vowels just as we see in a manuscript reproduced by Mas the sign to represent the silent *m*, *n*, *t*, etc. On this subject many have written, like Chirino, Colin, Gaspar de San Agustín, J. de San Antonio, Chamisso, Mas, and others and in later epochs and with greater thoroughness, Jacquet (*Journal Asiatique*) and the Filipino Doctor T. H. Pardo de Tavera whose interesting pamphlet *Contribución para el estudio de los antiguos alfabetos filipinos* (Lausanne, 1884) is almost a resumé and a critical appraisal of all the former writers besides an inquiry into its origin and relationship to other alphabets in India. Alfred Marche (*Luson et Palaouan*) gives however newer and more recent data taken from the Tagbanua tribe (Paragua) who still use this alphabet and these data modify greatly the knowledge of this subject until recently in vogue.

Writing was done on bamboo pieces or on paper, the line beginning from the right to the left as in the Arabis writing.[2] Almost all the natives, both men and women, know how to write in this dialect, and there are few who do not write it well and properly.

This language of the province of Manila is understood as far down as the entire province of Camarines and other islands adjoining Luzon, where they do not differ very much from each other, except that in some provinces the language is spoken with greater purity than in others.

The buildings and houses of the natives in all these Philippine Islands as well as their settlements are of the same design, because they build them on the shores of the sea besides the rivers and streams or canals, the natives generally living near each other by forming barrios or villages and towns where they plant rice and raise their palm-trees, *nipa* plantations, orchards of bananas and other fruit-bearing trees, and where they establish their implements and devise for trapping fishes, also their navigating craft. The minority of the natives live inland, such as the *Tinguians* who also seek homesites near rivers and streams, where they settle in similar fashion.

All the houses of the natives are generally built on poles or posts high from the ground, with narrow rooms and low ceiling made of interwoven strips of wood and/or bamboo and covered with palm-leaf (*nipa*) roofing, each house standing by itself and not joined to any other. On the ground below, they are fenced by rods and pieces of bambooo where they raise their chickens and animals and where they pound and clean their rice. One goes up the house through stairs made of two bamboo trunks which can be pulled up. On the upper part of the house they have their open *batalan* or back piazza where the washing and bathing are performed. The parents and the children room together, and their house called *bahandin*[1] has scant decorations and items of comfort.

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[2] With respect to the direction of the writing of the Filipinos there are some very contradictory opinions. It must be noted that the writers who have taken up the subject in these recent times, excepting Marche, believe it to be horizontal. Jamboulo, however, who seems to seen this writing centuries before Christ, agrees with Chirino who says: "They wrote from the top to the bottom (*x r w o e r x n t w*)" Colin, Ezguerra, and Marche believe in the opposite direction, from the bottom to the top. The horizonal direction was adopted after the coming of the Spaniards as Colin attests, the direction that Pardo de Tavera supposes and which Mas believes to be the only one by the piece of manuscript he reproduces, subsequent to the coming of Legazpi which could induce him to err like the others and also our Morga.

What can be deduced it seems is that they wrote in two ways, vertical and horizontal: Vertical in the first epoch when they wrote on canes and palm leaves because in that way the writing was much easier, and horizontal when the use of paper became general. As to the rest, the form of the characters lends itself to these different directions.

Aside from the above-described houses which belong to the ordinary people of less importance, there are those of the prominent people which are built on tree-trunks and thick posts containing many rooms both sleeping and living ones, using well-elaborated, strong and large boards and trunks and containing many pieces of furniture and items of luxury and comfort and having much better appearance than those of the average people. However, they are covered by roofs of the same palm-leaves called *nipa*, which give much protection from the rains and the heat of the sun, and are much better than the ones with tiles and shingles even if they involve greater danger of fire.

The lower part of the houses of the natives is not used for lodging, because they use it for raising their fowl and animals, in view of the wetness and/or heat of the ground, and likewise owing to the numerous large and small rats which are destructive to the houses and country-fields. Besides, the houses are ordinarily built close to the shore of the sea and the rivers and canals, so that the grounds of the houses are penetrated by the waters and are thus left open to the same.

Throughout these islands, there were neither kings nor lords to rule them in the same manner as in kingdoms and provinces[2] elsewhere. Instead, in every island and province many principals were known among the natives, some being more important and outstanding than others, each having his own followers and henchmen, forming barrios and families who obeyed and respected them. Those principal men used to have friendship and relationship with each other, and sometimes even wars and differences[3] with each other.

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[1] In Tagalog house is called *bahay; pamamahay*, what is inside together with the house, the home. It is very possible that *bahandin* has been printed for bahayin, an obsolete derivative.
"In all these islands there were no kings or lords who ruled them like in other kingdoms and provinces...." (1) (p-293)

These *principalias* or high social stations, were inherited by succession from father to sons and heirs, and in their default, to brethren and olateral kinsmen. Their duty was to govern and rule their subjects and henchmen, and to attend to their problems and needs; and in exchange for this, they received the peoples' respect and esteem, together with their support and help in their wars, expeditions, general work in farming, fishing, building houses and structures whenever they should be called upon to perform the same by their principals, upon which they would respond with punctuality. They also paid their tribute with the fruits of their toil which they called *buis*, some paying more than others. Furthermore, the descendants of these *principales* or nobles and their kinsmen were esteémed and respected, even if they had not inherited their distniction, and the former were considered and treated as noblemen, and as exempt from rendering service which

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(2) They were right because, "...in view of the lack of rapid communications, if the government of all the islands resided in only one hand and one sole will, and for everything people had to go to and consult in one place, the life in the towns would be greatly paralized. In our times while Manila is consulted about the repair of a bridge, months and years pass and when the decree comes, it turns out that nothing more remains of the bridge, not even the buttresses. And what is true of the bridge is true of other things. Moreover, considering the circumstances then, if the fate of these islands depended upon one person alone, many fates and many lives would be exposed; many fortunes would depend on the will of one man alone, who may be ignorant, brutal, ambitious, avaricious, and who does not know or love the subjects he governs.
"....some chiefs having friendship and relation with others and sometimes wars and disagreements." (2) (p-293)

(3) It can be deduced from this that friendly relations were more common than wars.

was demanded from the *Timaguas*[1] or plebians. The privileges of a principalship were also enjoyed by the women of noble birth on a par with the men.[2] When any of these principal men became more outstanding than the others in war and in other matters, he thereby acquired (*illegaba*[3]) more privileges and a greater following of henchmen, and he governed other people even *principals*[4] themselves, while retaining for himself his own authority over his particular *Barangai*[5] or clan with datus and other particular leaders who attended directly to the needs of the *Barangai.*

The authority which these principal men or leaders that they considered its components as their subjects, to treat well or mistreat, disposing of their persons, children and possessions at their will and pleasure without any opposition from the latter, nor duty on their part to account for the principals' action. Upon their committing any slight offense or fault, these henchmen were either punished, made slaves[6] or killed. It has happened that for having walked in front of lady principals while these were having their ablutions in the river[7]; for having looked at them with scant respect;

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[1] *Timawa.*

[2] "In this regard the Filipinos acted very much in conformity with natural laws, being ahead of the Europeans, whose women lose their nobility when they marry plebeians and among whom descent is along the male line which offers the least guarantee. This proves besidse the high consideration that the women in these Islands had enjoyed since antiquity."

[3] Perhaps the word yllegaba in the Spanish original should be *llevaba* or *allegaba.*

[4] They formed a kind of confederation, like the states of the Middle Ages, with their barons, counts, dukes who elected the bravest to lead them or they accepted the authority of the most important of them.

[5] "From the Tagalog *balangay,* name of a vessel on which it is supposed the Indios who now inhabit the Philippines came.

[6] These slaves were not always in such dismal condition. Argensola says that they ate with their master at the same table and afterward they married members of the family. But, tyrants and brutal men who abused their authority were not lacking, though they could not have surpassed the *encomenderos,* for history mentions rebellions and assassinations of *encomenderos* by their tenants while it does not record a single case of rebellion or assassination of a chief or assassination of some native leader for reasons of revenge.

[7] Between this and that Roman noblewoman who did not brush undressing in the bath in the presence of a slave, there is in truth a vast distance. The Roman noblewoman acted thus because of her great contempt of her modesty and high regard of her person.

or for other similar reasons, these henchmen have been made permanent slaves.[8]

Whenever any native had any controversies or differences with others on pecuniary matters, on property or regarding insults and physical injuries to their persons there were appointed elders among the same clan or group, who heard them in the presence of the parties, and their witnesses whenever evidence was necessary, and then decided the matter on their findings, thus following the same procedure used by their forefathers in similar cases. Thus, their decision was respected and executed without any further process or delay.[1]

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[8] After the conquest the evil became worse. The Spaniards made them slaves without these pretexts and even if the Indios were not under their jurisdiction. Besides, they sold them, taking them from their towns and islands. Hernando de los Ríos, speaking of naval constructions in the time of Mr. Juan de Silva, wrote to the king: "The masts of a galleon, according to the governor of the province of La Laguna de Bay where they were cut, took 6,000 Indios to drag them 7 leagues across very mountainous region 3 month and they were paid by the towns each monthly 40 reales (vellon)* without food. I don't mention the bad and inhuman treatment that they received and many of them who died in the mountains... Neiher do I tell Your Majesty about the Indios who hang themselves, who left their wives and children, and harassed, fled to the mountains, those who were sold as slaves to pay for the imposts that were assessed to them, the scandal of the Gospel, and the irreparable damage caused by the shipbuilding, and what inhuman tratment the wretched Indios received and not only what was necessary was done to them but what the inordinate avarice of the officials took away from them behind their back..." (p. 25). The letter of Philip II to Bishop Domingo Salazar was full of this, but neither this nor the efforts of the friars who realized the danger to their missionary work of the repugnance that the natives were beginning to feel towards Christianization remedied the evil. Philip II, recriminatng the bishop, said that the Indios had diminished by more than one third, that they were compelled to pay three times more than the rates fixed, and that they were treated worse than slaves, and many of them were sold as such by one *encomendero* to another, and some died of beating, and women who died and broke down because of heavy loads, of others and their sons who are made to work on the farms and sleep in the fields and there give birth and nurse their babies and die beaten by poisonous snakes, and many hang themselves, they starve, and others take poisonous herbs. And there are mothers who kill their children after birth..." (Gaspar de San Agustín.)

[1] "This is very simple and crude but it was more speedy, and the judges were persons of the locality, forming a jury, elected by both parties who knew the case the customs and usages better than the gowned judge who comes from outside to make his fortune, to judge a case he does not know and who does not know the usages, customs, and language of the locality. Proofs of the backwardness into which we have fallen are the multitude of laws, contradictory royal orders and decrees; the discontent of both parties who, in order to seek justice, now have many times have to resort to the Supreme Court of Spain (if they can and can afford a 36-day trip) where the judges are more honest and incorruptible, if not better informed about the country; the cases that last an eternity, handed down from fathers to sons and grandsons, the enormous expenses that the aggrieved party has to defray so that he may get justice, *etc., etc.*

Their laws throughout the Islands were along similar lines following the tradition and customs of their ancients in accordance with the unwritten statutes.[2] In some provinces, there were different customs in certain things, although generally speaking, they had uniform usages and procedure throughout the Islands.[3]

There were three social stations among the natives of these Islands constituting the commonwealth, to wit: Principal people, according to what has already been stated; *timawas* which is equivalent to plebeians; and slaves both of the principals and of the *Timaguas.*[4]

These slaves were of various kinds. Some were for all purposes and servitude just as we have them and these were called *Saguiguilires*[5] who served inside the apartments whose children also served in the same manner. Others had their own houses for their family apart from the house of their master and who would come to the house from time to time to help in the tilling of the land and in harvesting, also to serve as crewmembers when their masters made sea-voyages; those who helped in building the master's house and to serve frequently as helpers in the same when there are guests, and to serve there whenever the master requires them to do so, also without any compensation, and the latter are known as *Namamahayes*[6] slaves whose children and descendants are also slaves to serve in the same capacity. These *saguiguilires* and *namamahay* slaves are full-time, half-time and part-time or one fourth-part slaves. And it happens that if one of the parents of a child was free and the child was the only one, then he was a half-time slave, being only one-half free. If they had more than one child, they were distributed as follows: the first child followed the station of the father being either bond or free, the second child followed the status of the mother, and if there is an uneven-numbered child, the latter was half-slave and half-free. The children of these mixed parents, i.e., bond and free, became only one-fourth part slaves, for being such children of a free father or mother and of a half-slave. These half or fourth-part slaves, whether *saguiguilid* or *namamahay* ones, serve their masters alternately, that is, for one moon, and are free the next moon, and so on, according to the rules of slavery.[1]

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[2] Which in no way affected the peace of the people because many times a custom has more force than a written or printed law, especially when the written laws are a dead letter to those who know how to evade them or who abuse of their high position. The force of law is not that it is written on a piece of paper but if it is engraved in the memory of those for whom it is made, if they know it since their tender age, if it is in harmony with their customs and above all if it has stability. The Indio, since childhood learned by heart the traditions of his people, live and was nourished in the atmosphere of his customs and however imperfect those laws might be, he at least knew them, and not as it happens today that wise laws are written, but the people neither know nor understand them, and many times they are changed or become extinct at the whim of persons entirely alien to them. It is the case of the sling of David and the arms of Saul.

[3] This agreement of the laws at bottom and this general uniformity prove that the relations of the islands among themselves were very strong and the bonds of friendship were more common than wars and differences. Perhaps a confederation existed, for we know through the first Spaniards that the ruler of Manila was a generalissimo of the Sultan of Borneo. Moreover there exist other documents of the XII century that attest this.

[4] This is the eternal division that is found and will be found everywhere, in all kingdoms and republics: the ruling class, productice class, and servant class; head, body, and feet.

[5] We can't find the etymology of this word which in its Tagalog form ought to be *Sagiggilid.* The root *gilid* means in Tagalog "edge", "bank" "shore". The reduplication of the first syllable, if it is tonic, means active action in the future, and if it is not, and to the root is added the suffix *an,* it denotes the place where the action of the verb is often executed: the preposition sa indicates place, time, reference. The unaccented reduplication can mean also plurality and in this case the name in singular would be *sagilid,* that is, "on the border", the last, this is the slave.

Timawa means now in Tagalog "in peace," "in repose" "peaceful". "free'. *etc. Maginoo* from the root *ginoo,* dignity, is now the title of the chiefs and their group is called *kaginoohan.* Colin says, however, that the chiefs used the title *Gat* or *Lakan* (Gat Pulintang, Gat Maitan, Lakan Dula, etc. and the women *Dayang* (Dayang Mati). The title of *mamá* that today is used for men corresponds to "uncle", "sir", "monsieur", "mister", *etc.* and *ale* is its feminine counterpart.

The same thing happens with regard to partitions among the heirs: a slave may serve many masters, each one on his own time. When a slave is not entirely so but only half or one-fourth part slave, he is entitled in view of his part-free status, to compel his master to compensate him at a just rate,[2] for his used part-time freedom from service, which price is based on the persons according to the standing of the *saguiguilid* or *namamahay* slave whether half or fourth-part slave. However, in the case of a regular full-time slave, the master cannot be compelled to exampt him or compensate him at any price.

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[6] *Namamahay* from *bahay* (house), one who lives in his own house. This kind of slaves, if they can be called slaves, still exist and are called *kasamá* (for being now the partners or laborers of a capitalist or farmer.) Bataan means servant, *kampon, tao, etc.*

[1] This proves the high spirit of strict justice that prevailed in Filipino-Malayan communities. The principle of the law was mathematically observed and it was applied rigorously and impartially.

Among the natives the ordinary price for a *saguiguilid* slave is usually not over ten taels of good gold worth eighty pesos[3] each, and only half of this amount if he is a *namamahay* slave and the rest at a proportionate price according to the person, and his age.

There is no definite origin or source of this system of slave among the natives, because they all belong to these Islands and are not foreigners. It is believed that this matter started with the controversies and wars between themselves, and it seems certain that those who could do so, took this opportunity for whatever slight differences or reasons there might be, and reduced the vanquished to salvery. Likewise, slavery also resulted from debt and usurious loan-contracts between the natives, the amount of which increased with time owing to failure to settle them and to misfortune, the debtors then becoming slaves. Thus, all this system of slavery can be traced to unsavory and unjust causes, among them the suits between the natives, which have engaged the attention of the Courts of Justice and confessors, and the human conscience.[1]

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[2] Because the free half had the rights of a free man. It proves also that the laws were not tyrannical despite their being rigorous, the custom of asking charge of the rights of the free half, rather than the degradation of the slave half.

[3] Dasmariñas, however, compelled the *encomenderos* not to pay more than two tatls gold for slave sbought by force. (See note 2. page 29.) Some became slaves on account of unpaid loans and usurious rates of interest.

[1] This kind of slaves still exists in many places and especially in the Province of Batangas, but it must be admitted that their condition is very different from that of the slave in ancient Greece and Rome, from that of the Negro, and even from that of those who were made slaves by the Spaniards.

These slaves constitute the greatest possessions and wealth of the natives of these Islands, for the reason that they are very useful and necessary to them in their work and activities. They are sold, traded and made the object of contracts, like any other commodity, among themselves, in the common markets of the towns, provinces and of the Islands. Thus, in order to avoid innumerbale lawsuits that would ensue if these cases of slavery would be brought to Court, and their origin and beginning inquired into, the system and the slaves are now preserved in the same condition in which they existed heretofore.[2]

Thanks to their social condition and to their number at that time, Spanish rule encountered little resistance and the Filipino chiefs easily lost their independence and liberty. The people, accustomed to bondage, would not defend them against the invader nor would they fight for the people it was just a change of masters. The nobles, accustomed to tyrannize by force, had to accept foreign tyranny when they found it to be stronger than theirs, and not finding either love or lofty sentiments among the enslaved masses, found themselves without arms and without strength. Between a people with a tyrannical aristocracy and another with an unbridled democracy the people are balanced equally. Both easily fall under the rule of the first foreign invader, the first for weakness and the second for anarchy. Many of the colonies that are repressed due to the systematic brutalization of the inhabitants by one social class, caste, or race that surrounds itself with tinsel and which in order to maintain itself has to defend absurdities with a false principle to be logical, end up without doubt like the tyrannized peoples, like Persia, India, *etc.*, succumbing before the first foreigner. The Philippines, despite so many centuries of Christianization, despite the efforts of a few noble spirits, religious as well as civil, still continue, and it is desired that they continue, almost in the same state as before, because those who lead them consider more the present than the future and because they are guided more by fear than confidence. The efforts of the religious corporations to improve this condition were never so efficacious or so powerful as could be expected from them. Witnesses are the doubts of Fr. Alonso de Castro, a missonary of those times:

"If some *stolen Indios* or Indios made slaves by the Spaniards are in your possession and given to the convents by way of donation or sale... to what are they bound if they were free on their own lands or other people's slaves and if it would be lawful to give them freedom in case they become Christians so that they can return to their lands." Fr. Juan Quiñones also had *scruples* "about the *excessive tributes* or *assessment of taxes* of the *encomenderos* and the ease with which Spaniards make slaves of the infidels... but the Father Provincial Manrique *ordered him not to touch in the confessional such points.*" (Gaspar de San Agustín, p. 355)

[2] So that Catholicism not only did not free the poor class from the tyranny of the oppressor but with its coming to the Philippines it increased the number of tyrants. Time alone and education that brings with it more gentle customs, will end up by redeeming the parians of the Philippines, for we see that against their oppressor, the priests of peace do not feel couragous enough to fight, and that is in times of great faith, but rather they contribute indirectly to their misfortune, as we see in the preceding lines.

Marriages among the natives are generally between the principals and their fellow principals or nobles. Likewise *timawas* marry among those of their own station, and the regular slaves also marry their fellow-slaves, but sometimes they intermarry among different castes.[3] The natives have one wife each with whom a man may wed and she is called the *Inasawa*,[4] but behind her are other women as friends. The children of the first wife were held to be the legitimate ones and full heirs of their parents, but the children of the other women were not so considered, but some provision[5] was usually made for them, but they never inherited.

The groom was the one who contributed a dowry, given by his parents, while the bride did not bring anything[6] to the marriage community until she inherited in her own right from her parents.[7] The solemnization of marriage consisted in the mutual agreement between the parents and kinsmen of the contracting parties, the paying of the concerted dowry to the father of the bride,[8] and in the gathering of all the relatives in the house of the bride's parents for the purpose of celebrating with eating and drinking the whole day until sunset. At night, the groom carried the bride to his home where she remained in his care and protection. The spouses could separate and dissolve their marriage ties owing to trivial causes and upon proper hearing had before the relatives of both parties and some elders who participate therein,[1] and who rendered judgment, upon which the dowry received was returned to the husband, and it was called *vigadicaya*[2] as a voluntary offering, except in cases where the separation was caused by said husband's fault, when it was retained for the parents of the wife to keep.

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[3] This proves that the relations of these classes among themselves are not only far from resembling those of the masters of the West and their servants but that they were even more cordial than those of the patricians and the Roman people among whom at the beginning it was forbidden to establish family ties through weddings. If the chiefs and *timawa* Filipinos had been so tyrannical towards their inferior as they are depicted to us, there would not have been such unions. Hatred and contempt would have separated the classes.

[4] *Inasawa* more correctly *asawa* (consort)

[5] Another proof of the benignity and foresight of the laws.

[6] She brings nothing.

[7] This custom continued the union between the parents and the children, a wiser practice than that which is followed in many parts of Europe where cases are found of children neglecting their parents once they have taken possession of their patrimony, or of parents who do not consent to the marriage of their children in order not to part with their property. In Europe can be seen sons who are richer and in more comfortable circumstances than their parents, who let pass months and years without seeing them. There are parents who prefer their sons to be conscripted than to be married, which does not happen in the Philippines, not even now, because this custom survives. We say that this custom continues the *union* and not *affection*, because this is a sentiment that is always taken for granted, this affection in many people bordering on veneration. While the father or mother lives, the home continues, even though all the chidlren are married and live apart. Dowry in the Philippines. Naturally the woman did not and does not carry a dowry. The character of the Filipino woman, to be a help rather than a burden to the husband, reject this custom, necessary to the European woman because if she is not a burden, in general she increases the husband's budget. In the Philippines the woman does not fish for a husband, but she *chooses* a husband; the husband does not take a heavy bruden or the matrimonial yoke, but a companion *to help* him and to *introduce economy* in the irregular life of a bachelor.

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[8] "This dowry, if it can be called thus, represented a compensation for the parents of the bride for the care and education of their daughter. The Filipino woman, never being a burden on any one, neither on her parents nor on her husband but all on the contrary, represents a value for whose loss the possessor must be compensated. And this is so true that even in our times parents consent with great difficulty to part from heir daughters. It is almost never seen in the Philippines the sad spectacle that many European families present who seem to be in a hurry to get rid of their marriageable daughters, not infrequently the mothers playing a ridiculous role. As it will be seen, neither is there a *sale* or *purchase* in this custom. The Tagalog wife is free and respected, she manages and contracts, almost always with the husband's approval, who consults her about all his acts. She is the keeper of the money, she educates the children, half of whom belong to her. She is not a Chinese woman or a Muslim slave who is bought, sometimes from the parents, sometimes at the bazaar, in order to look her up for the pleasure of the husband or master. She is not the European woman who marries, purchases the husband's liberty with her dowry, and loses her name, rights, liberty, initiative, her true dominion being limited to reign over the salon, to entertain guests, and to sit at the right of her husband.

[1] In which matter they were more advanced than the modern French and English with their divorce laws. *The relatives of both parties and the elders* from a jury for family disputes, more sacred than all the doctors and judges however wise they might be, over the business affairs of their relatives and the convenience or inconvenience of the marriages. Without wishing to touch here the question of the indissolubility of marriage, we believe that when the spouses make their relatives and the elders judges of their dispute and these decide that divorce is desirable, despite the fact that they have to return the dowry, the motives could not be trifling. Other historians, among them Fr. Aduarte, say however that when they came to have children, they never separated any more out of love for them, a thing that certainly does not prevent divorce in Europe.

Their property which had been acquired in common by both spouses, was divided between them in equal shares, and each disposed of his part as best he or she desired. If any of the spouses had any gain or income unknown to and not participated in by the other spouse, it became the property of the said spouse, to own by himself or herself.

People could adopt any person in the presence of the relatives; and the adopted child or person would then deliver whatever he or she possessed, as a present to the adopting party, upon which the adopted person remained in his house and under his protection, thereby acquiring the right to inherit together with the children of the foster parents.[3]

Adultery was not punished physically but instead, the guilty spouse would pay to the aggrieved spouse such indemnity as the elders adjudged to be right, and which said parties agreed among themselves. The grievance was thus forgiven and the husband acknowledged to be satisfied, and he retained his honor and resumed his married life with his wife, and no mention would hereafter be made of the matter.[4]

In the matter of inheritance, all legitimate children inherited equally all the property which the parents had acquired. However, if there was any personal or real property left by the parents, in the absence of legitimate childrre and by the *asawa*, they were inherited by the nearest relatives from the collateral branches of the main family-tree. This was effected either by will or testament or, in its absence, by custom. No solemnity was required in the making of a will aside from simply leaving it in written form, or by stating the wish verbally in the presence of well-known persons.[1]

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[2] *Bigay-kaya* means to give what one can, a voluntary offering, a gift of goodwill. This confirms further that in the case of marriage there was no sale, unlike in the already known "alms" for scapulars, rosaries, belt, *etc.* in which one does not give what one can but what is demanded, with *fixed price* that can be altered notwithstanding, by increasing it. This *Bigay-kaya*, according to Colin, was returned intact to the spouses if the son-in-law was obedient to his parents-in-law and if not, it was divided among all the heirs. "Besides the dowry members of the principal class used to give some gifts to the parents and relatives *and even to the slaves* according to the rank of the newly married." (Colin, book I, chap. XVI)

[3] This sacred custom still exists, thanks to Providence, though little by little it is disappearing.

[4] This custom which the Filipinos have lost as a result of their contact with other people is being adopted now by many sensible nations of Europe, among them the English. It seems more rational and more just than to challenge the adulterer and often expose the husband as *cocu et batu* (*cuckold and beaten*). Other considerations aside.

If any principal or nobleman was a chief of a *barangai* or clan, he was succeeded in the office or dignity, by his eldest son had by his *asawa* or married wife, and in his default, by the second son had by her. In the absence of male children, by his daughters in the same order. In the absence of legitimate children, the succession reverted to the nearest of kin belonging to the same lineage and family of the principal who last possessed it.[2]

In the event that any native having female slaves, should have had intercourse with any of them and come to have children as a result thereof, her child as well as herself became free thereby,[3] but if she failed to have any, she remained a slave.

The children of slave-mothers and those had by another man's wife, were considered children of ill-repute, and they did not succeed like the legitimate heirs to the estate, neither were their parents bound to bequeath any property to them; and even if they were children of dignity or nobility or to the privileges of their fathers, and only remained in their station and were considered ordinary *timawa*-plebeians[4] like the rest of them.

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[1] And there was no need for more. The memory of the parents, so sacred and revered, the belief that the spirits of ancestors came to live among their descendants, punishing them or protecting them according to their later behavior, prevented any violation of the wills or disobedience on the part of the heirs. Only since the missionaries convined the Indios that their ancestors remained toasted and burned in Purgatory or Hell did they have a need for notaries, stamped paper, and to engage in lawsuits and intrigues forever and ever.

[2] The same law of succession is now followed by the royal families of Spain, England, Austria, *etc., etc.*

[3] A custom more merciful than the conduct of Abraham toward Hagar and Ihsmael in spite of the fact that he was the just man chosen by the Lord.

The contracts and negotiations with the natives were generally considered illegal, so that each of them had to take care of himself or see how he could best attend to his business.[5]

Loans made for profit were very common, and they bore excessive interest, thus doubling or increasing the more their settlement was being delayed, until the creditors would take everything their debtors had, together with their persons and their children, if they had any, in the capacity of slaves.[1]

The common way of doing business was the trading of certain things for others, such as supplies, blankets, cattle, fowl, lands, houses, fields, slaves, fisheries, palm-trees, nipa swamps and forests; and sometimes when there was a price fixed, it was paid in gold as might be agreed upon, also in metal bells coming from China, which articles are considered precious jewels. The latter look like large pots giving very good sound,[2] and are much used in their festivals, and are usually taken in their vessels in going to war and expeditions, and used in the place of drums and other metal instruments. There were often delays and extensions given for the payments of debts, needing bondsmen who participated elements of profit and very usurious interest.

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[4] All these distinctions between legitimate children who inherited, the children of free concubines who did not inherit, but received something, the children of slaves who received nothing, but who freed and saved their mothers, and the children of married women, though they belonged to the principal class, who did not even inherit the status of their fathers but rather degenerated, prove the high degree of culture and morality of the ancient Filipinos.

[5] So are the contracts of all nations and of all people and so also is and was the spirit of the contracts of the first Spaniards with the filipino chiefs and God grant they might have always adhered to the letter of those contracts!

[1] This is grievously true and so true that it survives to this day. In many provinces and in many towns everything Morga says takes place word for word. It is to be regretted that not only the Indios are engaged in usury but also the *mestizos*, the Spaniards, and even some religious. And it has reached such a point that the Government itself not only permits it, but also demands the property and even the person of the debtor to pay for the debts of other persons as it happens to the *cabeza de Barangay* (head of the *barangay*). Read what Plaridel says on this in his magnificent pamphlet *La Soberanía Monacal* (Barcelona, 1889).

[2] The *tam-tam* and the *pum-piang* (gongs) that are still used.

The offenses were punished upon complaint of the aggrieved parties. Thefts were particularly punished with severity by making slaves out of the thieves, and sometimes sentencing them to death,[3] likewise, oral defamations and insults particularly those uttered against the principals. There was a list of many things and words considered extremely insulting and discrediting when uttered against men or women, which were excused with more difficulty than offenses committed against persons, or injuries against their bodies.[4]

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[3] This horror of theft was so general before the coming of the Spaniards that the most anti-Filipino historians could never accuse the Indios of thievery despite their most trifling faults and of interpreting unjustly and attributing to the whole race the faults and defects that are found in individuals of all countries. Today this horror is already so deadened that not only malefactors and highwaymen have multiplied but also they steal chickens, fruits, animals *etc.*, or the very same ones whose duty is to watch over the security of the citizens, like the members of the Civil Guard, forced owners to sell them their properties cheaply. To the gradual destruction of that sacred custom have contributed perhaps the lukewarmness, and we would even say a certain participation of the friars in the stolen things, as can be gathered from the doubt of Fr. Alonso de Castro: "If it was lawful for the Religious to receive for their sustenance and buildings for their churches and convents stolen goods by way of alms. . . ."

Here are some ways how the ancient Filipinos investigated theivery: "If it consists of the offense but not of the offender, if the suspects are more than one. . . . each one was first required to place in a pile a bundle of cloth, leaves or what they liked, which could cover the stolen article and if after this formality the article was found in the pile, the case ended." This practice that leaves a door to repentance and saves the honor of the repentant ought to have been imitated by the Europeans. Between this *barbaric practice* and the civilized practice that we now have of investigating theft by force of electric machines, whipping, stocks, and other inquisitorial tortures, there is quite a distance. However, if the object did not show up after the first attempt, the ancient Filipinos used anoher method already more *perfect and civilized* inasmuch as it resembled the judgment of God and the practices of the Middle Ages. They submerged them in water at the same time "*como quien corre parejas*", each one with a pole in his hand. "The one who came out of the water first was held guilty, and thus many were drowned for fear of punishment." (Colin, p. 70). That is, they preferred to die to being feared as thieves, for however terrible the penalty might be, it would not be more than drowning oneself, a difficult death which, needs a firm and determined will. The ancient Filipinos, according to other historians, were guided in this by the principle that the guilty, being more afraid than the innocent, fear accelerated the palpitations of his heart and physiologically the circulation of the blood and consequently the respiration which was thereby shortened. Based on the same principle that the guilty one swallowed his saliva or his mouth dried up, they also made them chew rice, spit it out afterwards, declaring guilty the one who spit it out dry and badly chewed. All this is ingenious, but it can happen, and it happens, that an innocent man with a fine sense of honor may be affected in such a way upon being accused, or may fear an accident, and for this appear as guilty. They had other practices besides so like those of the Middle Ages, like the boiling water and the candle, which we shall let pass. We must not forget, however, that lately another famous usage had been in vogue. There was in Pulo an old friar, parish priest of the town, who had the reputation of being a soothsayer, and he was consulted about robberies, thefts, *etc.* The writer of these notes, as a child, in 1873, went to him once, accompanying a person who was going to consult him. The friar not only did not dispel his error or suspicions but he even confirmed them. Now they also consult old hysterical women, impostors, etc., showing that the intellectual level has gone down a great deal. Before, they reasoned, now, they are satisfied with asking and believing. For the enemies of reasoning this is called progress.

Not much importance was given to immoral attachments, seductions and incests, unless they were commited on the persons of principal ladies; and it was an ordinary occurence for a man to marry a woman after living immorally with sister for some time, also for one to have had for a long time, sexual intercourse with his mother-in-law, before commencing to live maritally with his wife, all of this in the presence and knowledge of all the relatives.[5]

Single young men were called *Bagontaos*,[6] meaning recently-made men, and the marriageable young women, *dalagas*. Men and women alike scarcely practiced continence, as from their early youth, they intermingled with each other very frequently and with scant selfrestraint. They have no regrets for whatever happened to them, and neither did their parents, brethren and relatives, especially if any pecuniary considerations were involved, and very little of this element was necessary for certain things to happen.[1]

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[4] What a high opinion the ancient Filipinos must have of moral sensibility when they cosidered offenses to it more serious than the offenses to the body! European civilization at that time and even that of today never took this into consideration in spite of their pretensions of idealisms, in spite of always placing the soul before that of the and of considering the word as the sign of reason, always holding as more serious a direct attack on the body and placing the senses before sentiment. The saying "There they give me all" attributed to Ferdinand VII describes sufficiently this manner of feeling. For this reason the friars are surprised that the Indios should prefer even now whipping to a bad word or an insult and this which ought to make them think and reflect, only suggests to them the deduction that the Indio is a kind of monkey or something like an animal. It is obvious that the animals on the earth of the friars, contrary to what is happening to them, know how to feel better the meaning of a word than the force of the whipping.

[5] It was not impossible that these things had happened, for similar cases and even worse are recorded in sacred and profane histories, in the annals of the great peoples ad families of Christian and devout Europe, and in the lawsuits that are not heard in modern courts, in the naturalist novels, *etc.* Nevertheless, perhaps there was some exaggeration in saying that "it was very ordinary", for even now after more than three centuries we see Spanish historias relate the most absurd and ridiculous things when it is a matter denigrating the Indios. This is said without wishing to compare a Morga with an employee-writer of our times. They say, for example, that because the family sleeps in one room, the father is wont to mistake the daughter, the mother, the son, etc. Inorder to assert such dirty stupidities it is necessary to have witnessed them, or believe himself capable of doing the same if placed in the same circumstances. Neither is there such mixing in bed nor have the Indios reached yet such depravity.

[6] From *bago*, new, and *tao*, man, one who has just become a man.

During all this time that the natives had lived as gentiles or non-Christians, they did not learn practicing the depraved and sinful offense against nature or sodomy. After the arrival of the Spaniards in the land, and their consequent association with them, the natives particularly after the arrival of the *Sangleys* (Chinese) coming from China, who are much given to this depravity, both men and women, have somewhat been contaminated with it, and instances have not been lacking in this respect.[2]

The natives of the Islands of the tattooed people or Visayas, especially the women-folk, are much given to vicious practices and sensuality, and their instincts have led them to invent sordid ways for men and women to get together intimately. They have acquired a bad habit from youth, the boys making an incision or hole in their private organ, close to its head, and attaching to it a sort of snake-head of metal or ivory, which is secured to the hole made in the organ, by means of a device of the same substance to keep it in place. With this contrivance on, the youth has intercourse with the woman, and he is only able to take it out much later after the act, both thereby indulging in a protracted frenzied delight, notwithstanding the spilling of considerable blood and suffering other injuries. This contrivance is called *sagra*, but only a few of them exist now, because after the natives became Christians, much care has been taken to stop these practices and vices, with a certain degree of success.

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[1] Because they saw nothing sinful in the act of the reproduction of the species. The ancient peoples, like many other peoples, did not see in it more than a natural instinct which has to be satisfied. The same Mosaic religion did not prohibit it except adultery. Only Christianity made the act a mortal sin, because, (perhaps agreeing with the agnostics) it saw everything carnal as corrupt, bad, like something from the devil, giving rise to that horror of the flesh that dominated the Cenobites, hermits, *etc., etc.* in the first centuries, disgusted perhaps by the moral laxity of decadent Rome and of all pagan society. Between prostitution, however, and Cenobite anti-naturalism, gloomy and barren, there is a middle ground: Obedience to natural laws without adultering them or frustrating the purposes that all things have. As to the rest, the Filipino writer P. A. Paterno in his erudite work *La Antigua Civilizacion Tagalog*, refutes magnificently in the chapter "Woman" (p. .27) this imputation of Morga that later other writers repeated. Paterno cites texts and testimonies against it furnished by various missionary writers and travelers.

[2] This confirms that the incontinence of the pagan Filipinos was not looseness but an excess of naturalism and absence of religious or moral prohibition. It has been observed that men fall into the abominable crime of sodomy when they become disgusted with prostitution as can be seen in many southern regions of Europe and China, or when excessive privation compels nature to adulterate itself by wandering through mistaken paths, as it is experienced in certain unisexual convents and schools. Study the history of peoples and of all civilizations.

Despite what Morga says and despite the fact that almost three centuries have already elapsed since then, the Filipinos continue abhorring this crime and they have been so little contaminated that in order to commit it the Chinese and other foreigners have to make use of their fellow countrymen, of the Indio women who are their wives, or of some wretched vagabond children.

Among the natives, there have generally existed certain herbalists and sorcerers[3] who have not been persecuted and restrained until they caused any particular injury or damage to people, and it was very seldom that the latter could be ascertained or even discussed.

There were also men whose occupation was to brake in or devirginize the maidens, and they were held in regard and paid for their services, on the theory that when men married virgins, they would not have to bother themselves with overcoming their bride's maidenhood.[1]

In matters of religion, they proceeded in primitive fashion and with more blindness than in other matters, for the reason that, aside from being Gentiles, without any knowledge of the true God,[2] they did not take pains to reason out how to find Him, neither did they envision a particular one at all. The devil ordinarily deceived them with a thousand and one errors and blind practices. He appeared to them in various forms as horrible and fearful as ferocious animals which held them in dread, making them tremble, and very often they worshipped him through images representing him,[3] kept in caves and in private houses, where they offered to him sweet-smelling perfumes, food and fruits,[4] calling them *Anitos.*[5]

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[3] The witches. In the time of Morga there was still a strong belief in the power of witches and the Inquisition persecuted them. Even the very *Túkang* or snake-tamers, who still abound in the Philippines, were considered witches.

[1] The direct consequence of his manner of thinking about this matter. If dancing were considered sin and is permitted only among spouses, the parents would not pay dancing masters for their daughters and men would wrangle over a young woman who least knows how to move her feet or who is heaviest in a waltz, *etc.*, so that they would perspire, lose time, and be tampled on their corns. Dr. Pedro Mata in his *Legal Medicine*, quotes also the Filipinos' horror of virginity, taking them for those of the kingdom of Arakan which he supposes is a kingdom of the Philippines. Well now, as a kingdom of this name has never been found in the Archipelago but in Burma, on the east coast of the gulf of Bengala, we believe it idle to refute this assertion of the illustrious Mata, considering it a lapsus of geography, repeated and believed later by other Spanish physicians and writers.

Others worshipped the sun and the moon, indulging in feasting and orgies during their conjuction.[6] There were those who worshipped a certain bird with yellow color which lives in the mountains, called Batala,[7] and they also worshipped and revered the crocodiles when they saw them, kneeling down with their arms crossed, in view of the harm often done to them by these animals, on the belief that by doing this, the monsters would be appeased and leave the people alone.

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[2] In this matter of the true God, every people believe what is their own, and as until now there has not been found a reagent for the discovery of the true God and distinguish Him from the false ones, Morga, who was a person of superior judgment to many of his contemporaries, can only be forgiven for such pretension for the sake of the dominant ideas then and the fact that Philip II has just terminated his reign.

[3] Pigafetta describes in the following manner the idols he saw in Sebú: "These idols are of wood, hollow or concave, without the parts behind; the arms are open and the legs apart, with the legs turned upward. The face is rather large with four enormous teeth similar to the fangs of the wild boar; all are covered with paint." Some historians following speak of idols of silver, gold, ivory, stone, bone, *etc.*, that they found in Luzon, some in the possession of the *Babaylanas*. The Tagalogs had *anitos* for mountains and country, for the planted fields, the sea, to whom they entrusted their fisheries and sea voyages, *anitos* for the house among whom they put their ancestors, they called their images. (Colin, p. 54). These idols do not always have the shape that Pigafetta attributes to them. Sometimes they are seated with their arms crossed, their elbows resting on their knees. Sometimes the arms are stuck to the sides with the hands above the abdomen or crossed over the breast and the hands over the clavicles, *etc.* They are not always found with teeth or fangs and those which have them are probably the images of malevolent genii.

[4] Morga evidently reproduces here the account of the missionaries then who saw devils everywhere, for it is incredible that the author had attended the heathen ceremonies of the Indios. All the histories written by the religious before and after Morga, until almost our days, abound in stories of devils, miracles, apparitions, *etc.*, these forming the bulk of the voluminous histories of the Philippines.

[5] It seems that they called *Anito* a tutelary spirit, whether of the family or whether alien to it. Now, with the new religious ideas, the Tagalogs, imbued with the zeal of the missionaries, call *Antio* every superstition, false cult, idol, *etc.*

[6] The *rational and grateful* man is recognized in the cult of the sun and the moon, sometimes he would see divinities, sometimes symbols in those celestial bodies. What is more natural than to worship the symbol of the beautiful, of the eternal, of light, of life, of Divinity itself? What being is there in nature, within the reach of the senses of man, more grandiose, more useful, more beautiful, and more apparently eternal than the sun? In the moon they saw the wife of the sun, the goddess, and for this reason they also worshipped it. In our world there is no being that can give a better idea of God than the sun and to worship it is less blindness than to worship a man however great and extraordinary he might be.

Their oaths, imprecations and promises as has already been stated, are to this effect: "May the crocodiles devour you if you do not tell the truth and fulfill your promise! and words to said effect.

There were no temples or houses of common worship of idols anywhere in the Islands, and each one performed in his own house,[1] whatever worship of his *anitos* he pleased, without any particular ceremony or solemnity, neither was there any priest or man of religion who should attend to religious matters except some old men or women *Catalonas* (pythonesses), great sorcerers and wizards who deceived the people and communicated to them whatever they wished, and according to their needs, and answered to them questions with a thousand and one lies and absurdities. They made prayers and offered ceremonies to the idols in behalf of their sick people; they believed in omens and superstitions which the devil inspired them to do, so that they could tell whether their sick persons would live or die.[2] They made treatments and cures and other sortileges to ascertain the future or any event through various ways. And God permitted apparently that the people of these Islands be prepared with the least possible assistance, to receive the preaching of the Gospel so that they might know the truth with more ease, and so that there would be less effort exerted to take them away from darkness and error in which the devil held them in bondage for many years. They never practiced human sacrifice like people in other kingdoms. They believed that there was a further life beyond where those who had been brave and had performed daring deeds were rewarded and where those who had done evil would be punished accordingly, but they were, however, at a loss to determine where these things would happen or the why and wherefore of them.[3]

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[7] Blue bird, say the Jesuits Chirino and Colin who in their capacity as missionaries ought to be better informed. "Of the size of a thrush that they called *Tigmamanukin* they assigned to him the name *Bathala*, says Colin. Well now; we don't know any blue bird either of this size or of this name. There is a yellow (though not completely so) bird and it is *kuliawan* or golden oriole. Probably this bird never existed and if it existed at one time, it must have been like the eagle of Jupiter, the peacock of Juno, the dove of Venus, the different animals of Egyptian mythology, that is, symbols which the populace and the ignorant laymen confuse with the divinities. This bird, blue or yellow, would be the symbol of God the Creator whom they called *Bathala May Kapal*, in the words of the historians, that is why they would call him *Bathala*, and the missionaries who had little interest in understanding hings in which they did ñot believe and which they despised, would confuse everything, as an Igorot or a Negrito would do should he see worshipped the image of the Holy Ghost or the symbols of the Apostles represented at times only by a bull, an eagle, or a lion, and would relate in the mountain among the laughter of his friends that the Christians worshipped a dove, a bull, a sparrow hawk, or a dog as those symbols appear represented many times.

Concerning the name *Bathala* that many linguists say is derived from the Sanskrit, P. A. Paterno gives a very ingenious interpretation in his work (p. 36) that we cited above.

[1] Others and Morga himself speak of oratories in caves where the idols were and before whom they burned perfume in small pans. Father Chirion found in Taytay shrines joined to the principal houses in the form of a "small tower of bamboo, wrought neatly... It was really dedicated to the *Anito*, though they did not make sacrifices there nor did *it serve for anything more than being dedicated to it.* Also in some places in the intados I found at the entrance to the town a small house with only a roof over it and an entresol that served as a *sacrificing* place..." (chap. XXI) Pigafetta alluded to this when he mentioned destroyed idols in "many tabernacles built along the seashore." (*molti tabernacoli construiti in riva al mare.*) Probably they dedicated temples only to the *Anitos* or spirits of their ancestors for the reason that Chirino suspects: "Perhaps so that they (*Anito*) may rest there when they are travelling." It seems that they did not raise temples to *Bathala May Kapal* nor did they ever offer him sacrifices, perhaps for believing that God, Creator of the Universe, did not need such little houses nor to be entertained or applauded with sacrifices, for He remained always just, good, wise and incorruptible, in contrast to the *Anitos* who, like men, need little houses, offerings, and gifts. The shrines were called *ulango* dedicated to the *Anito.*

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[2] Colin says that these priests, called by others *Catalona and Babaylan*, "ordinarily are rich people and well dressed and adorned with jewels, but they were not honored or esteemed because *they considered them loafers who lived by the sweat of their fellowmen.*" This proves that everywhere and in every religion the profession of priest has always been productive. Speaking of the sick and *Anitos* to prove their falsehood, Fr. Chirino tells the case of Francisco Armandao who, while sick, offered half of his body to the *Anito* to see if he would be cured, then half of his body was paralyzed and he could not move, and the missionary concluded that "this was public testimony of his heathenism." But, if the half that was not paralyzed had been offered to the *Anito?* What would be said now of those who die, despite all the Masses offered to the different Virgins, despite the figures of wax, silver, and other more attractive and tempting offerings?

[3] In which they did right by confessing sincerely their ignorance of the matter. Other historians, however, say that they called Hell *Solad* (G. de San Agustín), Heaven, *Kalualhatian* (a noun that survives until now) and in poetic laguage *Ulugan.* In Panay, however, they had their Olympus and Elysia fields in the Madias mountains to which the blessed Bisayan souls went.

They buried their dead in their own houses, keeping their bodies and bones for a long time in boxes, and venerating their skulls as if they were living in their presence.[4] In their funeral rites, neither pomp nor processions played any part, except only those performed by members of the household[5] of the deceased; and after

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[4] We find it much more natural and pious for them to venerate the remains of the parents to whom they owe everything and they call "second gods on earth", than to venerate the memory, bones, har, *etc.* of certain saints, many of whom were foreign maniacs and of doubtful sanctity, to whom can be applied what St. Augustine said: "That they are worshipped where they are not and where they are burned." Idolatry for idolatry, we prefer that of our parents to whom we owe our being and our education to that of some dirty friar, maniacal hermit, or fanatical martyr whom we don't know and with whom we have no dealings and who probably will never remember us.

[5] There was something more, however. There were mourners who eulogized the dead in the style of what is done today. "To the sound of this mournful music they washed the body, perfumed it with the gum of the storax-tree or benzoin and other tree-gums that are found in all these mountains. After this they shrouded the body, wrapping it up in more less cloth in accordance with the rank of the dead. The more important ones they anointed and embalmed, in the style of the Hebrews, with aromatic liquors, which preserved the bodies from putrifaction, particularly the one done with aloes that they called "Eagle" wood, very acceptable and much used in all thsi India outside of the Ganges. They also used for this the sap of the leaf of the *buyo*... They put a quantity of this sap through the mouth so that it would go inside the body. The grave of the poor was a hole in the ground of his own house. The rich and the powerful, after holding them for three days mourning, were placed in a box or coffine of indestructible wood, decorated with rich jewels and with a covering of thin sheets of gold on the mouth and eyes. The coffin was of a single piece... and the cover was so well adjusted that no air could get in. And because of this carefulness, at the end of many years, numerous bodies were found intact. These coffins were placed in one of three places in accordance with the wishes and order of the deceased—in the house among the jewels, or below it, above the ground, or on the ground itself, in an open hole and fenced around with railings, without covering the coffine with earth. Beside it they usually place another box containing the best clothes of the deceased and from time to time they placed several dishes containing food. Beside the men they placed his weapons and beside the women their looms or other tools they had used. (Colin, p. 67).

Pigafetta came to Sebú eighty years before and he described the funeral rites he saw almost in the same manner. He mentioned besides the mournig clothes of the Bisayans, which were white, the cutting of the hair of the deceased, done by a woman, alternating with the lamentations of the wife embracing the body of the husband. The modern discovery of the tombs and funeral urns (Alfred Marche, *Luson at Palaoan*, Paris, 1887) confirms the accuracy of these descriptions. Nevertheless, not always were they buried in their houses or near them. Sometimes the tombs were on the seashore, over a rock, or inside a house built there for the purpose. Neither was the coffin always made as described. Sometimes whole vessels served as coffins, especially for those who in life had been great sailors or were fond of sailing.

When they died a natural death, or they knew that their end was approaching, they prepared themselves for this critical moment with such a tranquility and contentment that could only suggest the conviction that they were going to be reunited with their *Anitos*. The aged especially died with this conviction, sure of going to Heaven. "And generally", says grieving for the deceased, they indulged in eating and drinking to the degree of intoxication among themselves, the relatives and friends.[6]

Some natives of the Island of Borneo began to come to the Island of Luzon, particularly the settlements of

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Colin, "whoever can get away with it, attributed divinity to his father when he died." We see nothing censurable in this, contrary to the Jesuit's opinion. This filial piety of venerating the memory of his progenitors is less reprehensible than the monastic fanticism of making saints of their confreres, availing themselves of the most ridiculous inventions and grasping, so to speak, even at the beards, like that of Bishop Aduarte, *etc., etc.* "And the old men themselves died with these pride and fraud, *making appear at the time of their sickness and death a seriousness and crisis that to them seemed divine.*" Between this tranquility, sweet solace that was offered by that religion at the last moments of life, and the anguish, fear, the terrifying and cheerless scense that monastic fanaticism infused in the mind of the dying, the mind free from every preoccupation can judge. If the lofty judgment of God is not unknown to us; if the Omnipotent has given us life for our ruin, why embitter the last hours of life, why torture and discourage a brother, precisely at the most terrible moment of his life and on the threshold of eternity? It will be said: so that he may mend and reform. It is not the means, nor the occasion, nor is there time left.

In this connection, "... that primitive religion of the ancient Filipinos was more in conformity with the doctrine of Christ and of the first Christians than the religion of the friars.* Christ came to the world to teach the doctrine of love and hope that may console the poor in his misery, that may lift up the downcast and may serve as a balm for all the sorrows of life.

[6] It is not surprising that the funerals should end in banquets and feast that they called *Tibao*, according to Fr. San Antonio (*Descripción de las Islas Filipinas*), considering the belief that the one who died was going to be happy and in this regard the Filipinos were logical. The "banquets" that are still held today and which were adversely interpreted by the Spanish writers, have no more significance that the custom of the Filipinos to compliment all those who are at their homes at meal time. Well now; as many come to help and console the family of the deceased, not only by word of mouth but by deed — giving money and other gifts — it is natural that in the eyes of the superficial observer, it would seem a feast. The evidence that it is not is that no one is invited to it who is not already in the house and the guests do not wait to be begged as the custom at parties is. The *Pasiam* with the *Katapusan* is nothing more than a nine-day prayer for the repose of the soul of the deceased and the friends who come to pray for him and to console and accompany the family are complimented for the same reason as stated above with tea and sweets, which is not a feast, for a Filipino does not invite anyone just to offer him tea. The *Katapusan* (the final, the last day of prayer) has the appearance of a feast, because it is more than a tea and in fact it is a supper; but this is due to the general custom of wanting always to end things with something grander and better and the Filipino does not find añythiñg intermediate between tea and supper. Naturally there reigns more animation at that occasion, because more friends come, whether because it is the last day or for any other motive, and not having the custom of putting on a sedate appearance, they usually forget conventionalities which have made many Spaniards believe that the *Katapusan* was a feast, later applying this name to all feasts, like Mr. Cañamaque who was so satisfied with the word "Paco"* that he made it synonymous of cemetery.

* He refers to certain friars during the Spanish regime.

Manila and Tondo, with their wares and merchandise, a few years before the Spaniards pacified the people and the inhabitants of the Islands and intermarried among themselves. The newcomers being Mohamedans, they thus commenced to spread the creed of their sect among the natives, distributing among them their religious literature, ceremony rituals and handbooks, through some crazizes[1] who had arrived with them, so that many of the principal men began to adopt Mohammedanism and even circumcising themselves,[2] and to assume Moorish names; and if the Spaniards had delayed their arrival further, this religion would have spread over the Island, over every other place in the Islands; and it would have been difficult to demohammedanized them. The mercy of God put a timely remedy to that. Since this sect had just began to spread in the country, it was successfully uprooted from the Islands as they were freed from the same, at least as to the regions which the Spaniards had pacified and placed under the Government of the Philippine Islands; while it has been extensively spread over the rest of the Islands which are outside of said Government, the inhabitants of which are already entirely Mohammedan, ruled and taught by the Mohammedan priests and other morabites, who sail periodically through the straights of Malacca and the Red Sea to these Islands, to preach and teach them.

Many changes and novel things have been the result of the arrival of the Spaniards in these Islands, and their pacification and conversion of the people and the change in the system of their Government, as well as what His Majesty has accomplished for their welfare, since the year fifteen hundred and sixty-four, as usually happens in kingdoms and provinces which are made to change their law and rulers. And the first thing that happened to them was that, besides acquiring the name of Philippine Islands which they received from the first day of their conquest, the entire Islands now constitute a new kingdom and domain, which our master, His Majesty, Philip the Second, has named the Kingdom of

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[1] According to Lord Stanley, it is a wrong use of the Arabic word *Kasis*, meaning Christian priest.

[2] This custom has not been lost among the Filipinos, even among the Catholics themselves.

New Castile[1] of which, in view of her Royal privileges, the City of Manila was made its capital, the latter obtaining as a special one among its privileges, a coat-of-arms with a crown, devised by his own Royal person himself, the escutcheon being divided across into halves, the upper one representing Castile on a red field, and the lower one, a crowned, rampant golden lion, holding a bare sword on his right paw, the half of whose body being a dolphin on the seawaters, signifying that the Spaniards crossed the seas with their arms in order to conquer this kingdom for the Crown of Castile.

The City of Manila was founded by the *adelantado* Miguel Lopez de Legaspi, the first Governor of the Philippine Islands in the Island of Luzon, on the same site where Rajamura (the Young Rajah) formerly had his own settlement and fort—as has already been stated for the purpose—at the mouth of the river flowing to the Bay and by the sea. He occupied the entire site and distributed the same among the Spaniards into equal-sized lots, and well ordered, regular and level stables, making allowance for a main ample *plaza* or square, where he built the principal church and City Halls. Besides, he provided for another square or military parade-grounds where the fort[2] stood and there he built the Royal Government mansions. He also granted sites for the monasteries[3] and for the hospital and heritages, all of which were to be occupied or built upon, as the City was bound to grow and improve in the course of time, as in fact it now has grown. As the days went by, this city which had been duly won, became urbanized and developed into one of the best ones in that part of the world.

The entire City was surrounded by a stone-wall over two and a half (82.5 inches) *varas* and in certain parts of it, said wall is over three *varas* thick, and has a few watch-towers and beams[4] at certain intervals from each other. It has a fortress of hewn-stone at the point which guards the sand-bars and the river, with a few pieces of heavy artillery pointing to the sea and the river, while other pieces are emplaced higher, to defend the sandbar; and there are medium-sized field-guns and swivel-guns, also some vaults for keeping the provisions and munitions, together with a well-guarded powder-room, an inner square with a well having abundant fresh-water, quarters for the garrison and artillery-men and house for the governor. It is further fortified on the side of the land up to the military square where the entrance lies, by a good well and two emplacements with artillery pieces pointing outside from the wall and gate. The fort called Santiago has a strength of thirty soldiers and their officers, together with eight artillery-men guarding the gate and entrance to its quarters, in charge of a Governor who lives inside and is responsible for its defense and security.

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[1] Or "Reyno de Nueva Castilla."

[2] Fort Santiago.

[3] The convents occupy almost one third of the Walled City.

[4] At that time it did not have moats. These were dug after the British invasion of 1762. The walls were also changed and improved in the course of time and in accordance with the needs of the city.

There is another fort also for stone-masonry on the same wall, a culverin's shot distant to the curtain on the side of the Bay, called the "Nustra Señora de Guia," It is a very large round fortification having its court, water supply, quarters and store-rooms inside and other offices, with outer defenses extending to the sea, where a dozen large and medium pieces of artillery facing the bay are emplaced, and which can sweep the wall, which extends to the gate and Fort Santiago, having in another direction a large rampart with four heavy pieces of coast artillery facing the sea towards the hermitage of Nuestra Señora de Guia. The gate and entrance are within the city, guarded by a platoon of twenty soldiers with their officers and six artillerymen, a governor and a lieutenant, who live in the same.

On the side of the land to which the wall extends, there is a bulwark called San Andress having six pieces of artillery, pointing to all directions and swivel-guns. Farther ahead, there are other outer defenses by the name of San Gabriel, in front of artillery-pieces both of which emplacements have a few soldiers and regular guards.

The wall is sufficiently high a battlement and its merlons for its defenses in modern fashion. It has approximately a circumference of one league, walking on top of the same, with many wide stairs of the same stone-masonry at intervals, on the inner side and with the permanent City gates one toward the land behind, with several small gates at convenient places, on the sides of the sea and the river for the service of the City people, all of which are closed before evening by the ordinary guard making the rounds of the City streets, who takes the keys with them to the guardhouse of the Royal buildings; and in the early morning the guard on its rounds, opens the gates of the City again.[1]

Around the military parade-grounds, were the Royal storehouses, where were kept everything in the line of supplies and ammunition, cordage, iron, copper, lead, artillery-pieces, arquebusques and other supplies pertaining to the Royal property or that of the private ministers and officers, under the charge and responsibility of the Royal officers.

Next to these storehouses, is the powder-house and its master, officers and forced personnel, in which powder is refined.[2]

The foundry-house of the Artillery Corps with its moulds, furnaces and instruments, foundries, and the officers who work on it, is in a convenient place[3] in another part of the City.

The Royal mansions are very beautiful and aesthetic with nice habitations, having several windows facing the Bay, also the military parade grounds. They are all stone-built having two courts, corridors above and below, with thick pillars in support.

In said mansions reside the Governor and President of the *Audiencia*, with his family. There is a Hall of the said Royal *Audiencia*, an office of the clerk of the latter's Chamber, of the clerk of Administration, and other office-rooms for the Royal Exchequer, Ministry of Royal officers with a large gate to the street, with two principal doors where the guard corps is stationed with a company of salaried arquebuses-armed soldiers who are on duty for the day, having quarters and another house in front, with the street in between the Royal Exchequer and the officers in charge of the same.[1]

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[1] Today the gates of the city are open all night and on some occasions traffic through the streets and gates is permitted at all hours.

[2] This powder-magazine has been changing its location. Afterwards it was there near Maalat, on the seashore, and then it was moved to Nagtahan on the bank of the Pasig.

[3] Probably on the same site where the big cannon foundry of the Tagalogs was, burned and dstroyed at the first arrival of the Spaniards at Manila. What the Spaniards established in 1584 was first at Lamayan, Santa Ana, then transferred to Manila in 1590, its work being stopped in 1805. (*Ilustración Filipina*, No. 16, p. 35). The Tagalog cannon foundry, according to Fr. Gaspar de San Agustín, "was as large as that of Málaga and everything in it was burned, except twelve pieces and falconetes which were taken to Panay because the rest of the artillery was thrown to the sea by the Moros (Manilans) when they saw they were defeated." (p. 320)

The houses of the Church dignitaries situated on the square are also made of stone-masonry, and have a good appearance and fine halls. On the ground-floor, are the prison and court-room of the ordinary judges.[2]

Standing in the same place, is the principal church constructed with the three main divisions, likewise made of stone-masonary, with its main chapel and a chair, with two decks of chairs one higher than the other, fenced in by bars adorned with an organ, missal-stands and all necessary things, vestries and its rooms and offices.

Within the City stands the monastery of Saint Augustine, which is large and with abundant dormitory-space, a refectory and offices.[3] A church is nearing completion, a structure which is the most sumptuous one in those parts, its convent ordinarily having fifty priests.

The monastery of Saint Dominic is inside the City-walls and has approximately forty priests. It was a well-constructed stone-masonry church, likewise its house and all offices. It is now being reconstructed to be a better structure, after having been totally burned during the conflagration of the City in the year sixteen hundred and three.

The monastery of Saint Francis lies farther in front and is well constructed of stone-masonry, and is becoming a new church and is composed of about forty barefooted priests.

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[1] Treasury building. The governor's palace was destroyed in 1863.

[2] The houses of the Audiencia and Cabildo were also destroyed but the Cabildo has been reconstructed.

* Ecclesiastical offices were housed here. (E. A.)

[3] This is the largest convent in Manila.

The college of the Society of Jesus has been erected close to the Fortress of Nuestra Señora de Guia. It is composed of twenty priests of its Order, having a good stone-masonry house and church. They conduct courses in Latin, arts and matters of conscience, there being close to the same, a college of Spanish students with their rector; and they wear tawny tunics and colored, breats *beca*-bands.[4]

In another part of the City, there is a good, exclusive,sive closed-to-the-public edifice with its church made of stone-masonry, called San Andres and Santa Potenciana, favored with Royal patronage in which a female Rector lives and has her trusted assistants. They handle a torno-wheel for receiving unwanted babies whom they raise in orphanage-style. There is also a hall for receiving visitors. This institution likewise takes in needy women and young women from the City to be confined or cloistered in this religious institution or *beaterio*. Some of its inmates may later leave for the purpose of getting married, while the rest remain therein prmanently, to engage in needle-work, prayer and religious chanting. They are maintained and supported partly by provision by His Majesty's representatives, and partly by the product of their own efforts and personal income. They have a priest who acts as their majordomo and administrator.[1]

In another location, stands a Royal hospital for Spaniards, constructed of stone-masonary, having its physician, pharmacist, managers and helpers, and a church, patients' ward with beds, in which institution all Spaniards may be medically treated. Ordinarily it is quite crowded and is enjoying Royal patronage, and His Majesty provides for the same with whatever it may need. It is superintended by three farefooted priests of the Order of Saint Francis, who attend with great efficiency to the corporal and spiritual needs and comfort of the patients. It had been burned down during the fire of last year, sixteen hundred and three, and it is being reconstructed at present.

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[4] This College of San Jóse was founded in 1601, though the royal cedula was already granted in 1585, the number of the first students being 13, among them a nephew of Mr. Francisco Tello and a son of Dr. Morga. Since the beginning, Latin courses were taught in it. In a lawsuit it had with the College of Santo Tomás, it received a favorable verdict, being recognized as the oldest and granted preferment and precedence in all public ceremonies. Historians relate that it its inauguration, the students wore caps covered with diamonds and pearls. Now this college, after wandering from house to house, became a college of pharmacy, subject to Santo Tomás and managed by the Dominican Rector.

[1] This institution has had many vicissitudes and after a change of house, it has completely disappeared in our time.

There is another Hospital of mercy[2] under the management of the Society, of the same name, which has been founded in the City of Manila, with sisters of mercy from Lisbon and other Societies of India, enjoying apostolic bull-privileges for practicing deeds of charity, burial of the dead, supporting the unfortunate poor, to established in marriage orphaned young women, and to remedy many existing needs. They also treat the sick among the slaves of the City, and furnish lodging-facilities to the female indigents.[1]

Besides the monastery of Saint Francis, stands the Hospital of the natives[2], enjoying Royal patronage, which was founded by a saintly Franciscan lay-brother named Fr. Juan Clemente. In this institution, a great number of natives are treated with great care and comfort for all kinds of illnesses. It has good and strong house and offices, built of stone-masonry, and it is managed by the barefooted friars of the Order of Saint Francis, and has three permanent priests and four laymen living exemplary lives. It also has physicians, hospital-phramacists who have been accredited, and are so expert that they make miraculous cures with their hands, both in the regular medical field and in surgery.

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[2] The Hermandad de la Misericordia (Brotherhood of Mercy) was founded by a clergyman named Juan Fernández de León in 1594.

[1] It seems that the work of this charitable Brotherhood had altogether ceased because in these recent times not only does it not have rooms for poor women but neither would it bury several corpse for not being able to pay parish fees, prohibiting the poor to die, as it seems. This Hermandad maintained the Colegio de Santa Isabel. On the other hand, other fraternities flourish today, which if they are not so philanthropic, at least they are more religious and productive for those who manage them, like the Cofradía de Nuestra Señor de la Correa, Cofradía de Nuestro Padre Jesús, Cifradía de Nuestro Padre Jesús Nazareno, Cofradís de Nuestra Señora de la Soledad, and many others, managed by Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians.

[2] San Juan de Dios Hospital.

The sites along the streets of the City are well occupied with houses, several of which are made of stone-masonry, while the rest are of wood, and their roofing is mostly made of adobe tiles and the rest are of *nipa-palm.* There are good, high and wide buildings with large partitions, many windows and balconies, iron bars which adorn them. These structures are every day being improved, and some new ones constructed.

There are approximately six hundred houses inside the City walls, all being the homes of the Spaniards within their own *población,* aside from as many other wooden houses outside of the City in the suburbs.

The streets, plazas and churches are ordinarily full of people of all sorts, mostly Spanish men and women all of whom are, curiously enough, dressed and attired in silk and other costly fineries, in view of the abundant means available to them for the purpose. In fact, the City is one of the most highly-praised in the whole world, by foreigners who visit the same not only for the reason already mention, but for the fact that the same is abundant in provisions and supplies, besides other things that are necessary in human life, and at moderate prices at that.

Manila (walled City) has two places of exit for recreational purposes, one being by land through the point known as Nuestra Señora de Guia, almost one league toward the sea, which is clean, and then through a street and district of natives called Bagumbayan, up to a very devout hermitage by the name of Nuestra Señora de Guia, from which is a good long walk up to a monastery and doctrine-school of Augustinian fathers, called *Mahalat.*[1]

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[1] Better "Maalat". "The tongue of the Spaniards later lost its flexibility and made this name *Malate.* In this town lived the principal nobility of the Tagalogs after they were stripped of their former homes in Manila and among them were the old families of Rajah Matanda and Rajah Soliman. "And thus until today many of the nobility remained there", wrote Fr. Gaspar de San Agustín, "and all the Indios are very urbane and polite. The men have various employments in Manila and some work in public offices for being near; and the women are very skilled in making laces, and so much so that Flemish women have no advantage over them" (p. 490) This which was true in XVII century continues being so today, even though the very fine embroideries of Ermita and Malate have so little protection.

The other exit is through one of the gates of the City, up to a native district called Laguio[2] where one finds himself in the hermitage of San Anton and in a monastery and doctrine-school,—a very pious establishment—of the Franciscan barefooted fathers which is called Candelaria,[3] or chandlery of the City.

Manila City is the capital of the kingdom and goverment of the entire Philippine Islands as well as the metropolis of the other cities and settlements, wherein is domiciled the *Audiencia* or Supreme Court and the Chancelry of His Majesty, as well as the Governor and Captain-General of the Philippine Islands.

It has a city corporation with two permanent ordinary *alcaldes* or judges, an *alguacil mayor* or high constable and a chief ensign, corporation-clerk and other officials.

There resides in the City, the Archbishop of the Philippine Islands and his metropolitan church with all the dignitaries, canons, prebendary, semi-prebendaries, chaplains and sextons. Likewise, a chapel for music, song and organ, musical wind-instruments and all ornamented and decorations for the celebration of the divine office, with due gravity and solemnity. It also has three existing bishops of the Islands of Cebu, Cagayan and Camarines, as suffragans to the Archbishop.

There is the Royal Exchequer with three Royal officials, a factor accountant and treasurers in whose hands the Administration of the Royal wealth of the entire Philippine Islands.[1]

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[2] Here is where the Jesuits at one time came to live. Colin writes it "Laygo", but he does not give the exact place where it was located. Buzeta and Bravo neither mention it nor speak of San Antón, ñor of Candelaria. According to what can be deduced from what Morga says, it seems to have been found about Concepcion or Paco, not far from the River Pasig.

[3] The present town of Paco.

[1] This is very much changed now and the employees have increased so much that the expenses every year amount to more than ₱2,000,000, the salary of the Treasurer being ₱12,000.

All vessels which are cleared and sent out to New Spain every year with merchandise being the purchases made from all over the Islands, and the same vessels return to them from New Spain with the entire proceeds from the sale of said goods, together with the regular financial aids.

The Camp or headquarters of the salaried soldiers whom His Majesty ordered to be assigned to these Islands is likewise located permanently in the City.

Likewise some galleys are stationed in Manila together with their general, captains as well as other naval ocean-going vessels as well as other smaller ones, according to the country's procedure, order that they may be enabled to respond to all calls for the need of the entire Philippine Islands.

The total sum or number of vessels coming from China, Japan, Moluccas, Borneo, Siam, Malacca and India to the Philippine Islands with their merchandise and trade, comes to anchor in the Bay and River of Manila where they are sold and traded for distribution among all the Islands and settlements of the country[3]

In a province in the same Island of Luzon, the City of Segovia[2] was founded at the time of Don Gonzalo Ronquillo, the third Governor, composed of two hundred Spaniards inhabiting therein, residing in wooden houses on the banks of the Tajo (Tagus) River two leagues from the sea and port of Camalayuga. It had a fort of stone-masonry close to the City of Camalayuga. It had a fort of stone-masonry close to the City to defend it in general from the river, with some artillery pieces. It had its mayor, and, aside from its residents it had one hundred salaried soldiers armed with arquebusques, and their officers, under the charge and control of the *alcalde mayor* or governor of the province, with the rank of captain, in charge of the affairs of defense.

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[2] With the exception of the trade with China, the relation with the other nations had ceased during more than two centuries.

[3] This city has completely disappeared from the map and the land, remaining in its site Lal-lo, a town of little importance; it contiues to be mentioned, however, for the bishopric of Bigan, the present residence of the bishop.

A bishop with his church resides in the City although for the time being, he has no satiple nor prebendary allowances. There is a City corporation, with two *alcaldes* or mayors, six *regidores* or aldermen and an *alguacil mayor* or high constable. The City abounds in all kinds of provisions and delicacies which can be obtained at moderate prices.

The City of Caceres[1] in the province of Camarines, in the same Island of Luzon, has been well populated since the time of Doctor Sande, Governor of the Philippine Islands. It has approxifately one hundred Spaniards, with its City corporation and mayors, aldermen and officials. It likewise has a permanent bishop of the province with his church, without, however, any stippened or prebendary allowances. The government and affairs of defense of the province are in charge of an *alcalde mayor* or magistrate, an infantry captain, who resides in Caceres, which is a delightful place and supplied with all sorts of provisions sold at moderate prices. It lies inland, four leagues from the sea, a settlement established on the banks of a river, with houses made of wood.

The fourth City is the one having the Most Holy Name of Jesus[2] in the Island of Cebu, province in the Visayas or of the tattooed natives, which was the first Governor, having a beautiful, clear and anchorable seaport with ample capacity to accommodate many vessels at the same time. It has a bishop with its church, the same as the other Cities in these Islands, without any prebendary allowances.

This City is provided with ample provisions and supplies, and the vessels coming from Malacca and bound for Manila, call at its port. By His Majesty's bounty, the City possesses a large ocean-going vessels for loading cargo, which periodically sails from its port, bound for New Spain, taking on board the merchandise consisting of products gathered from those provinces. It has a monastery of priests of the Order of Saint Augustine, and a College of the Society of Jesus.

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[1] Nueva Cáceres.

[2] Now it is known as the city of Cebú.

In the Island of Oton,[3] the *villa* or privileged village of Arevalo[4] has been populated since the time of Governor Don Gonzalo Ronquillo. It has approximately eighty Spaniards residents and is located in the beach and has a wooden fort with some artillery pieces, also a monastery of the Order of Saint Augustine, together with a parish Church, with its secular vicar and priest, belonging to the diocese of the bishopric of Cebu.

It has a corporation of mayors and aldermen and other officials, a mayor-magistrate and a chief of defense for said southern provinces. The *villa* is well supplied with ample provisions obtained at very cheap prices.

The town-site of the Ferdinandian *Villa*,[1] which was founded in Northern Luzon in the province of Ilocos, is fractically bereft of Spaniards, as these are very few in number. It has a church with a secular vicar and priest which are hardly mentioned for said reason. The chief magistrate of the province resides in the same, and it is under the jurisdiction of the diocese and bishopric of Cagayan.

Ever since the conquest and pacification of the Philippine Islands began, the matter of the preaching and conversion work on the holy gospel and our catholic faith was, taken in hand. The first ones to undertake these enterprises were the priests of the Order of Saint Augustine[2] who had come with the *adelantado* Governor Legazpi in his fleet on its voyage of discovery.

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[3] Panay.

[4] Of little importance now. Of her past grandeur there remain not more than 1,000 inhabitants, a parish house, a townhall, jail, and a primary school.

[1] Vigan or Bigan.

[2] The first ones who started the work of conversion were really the priests who came with Magellan. In the expedition of Legazpi, priests converted also jointly with the Augustinians, two of whom were called Juan de Vivero and Juan de Villanueva and this is according to the admission of the Augustinian himself Gaspar de San Agustin, saying that both helped with great fervor and eagerness in the new conversion. According to the same friar, it was Fr Juan de Vivero who first baptized in Luzón, his convert being the old rajah.

The same ones also continued to promote the work, which was undertaken with great fervor and hardships. Therefore, having found the fruit in a favorable condition of ripeness, they gathered the first harvest[3] thereof, by converting and baptizing many infidels in every part of the Islands.

Following in their wake, in view of the reports regarding conversion, were the barefooted friars of Saint Francis who came to these Islands by way of New Spain; and next to them, also came those of the Order of Saint Dominic[4], and these were followed by the priests of the Society of Jesus. Lastly, the Augustinian barefooted Recollects came over to the country, and all of them together established themselves in the Islands and labored in the conversion and teaching of the doctrine to the natives. As a natural result of this joint effort there are at present a great number of baptized natives, aside from many other foreign nationals who in view of the lack of sufficient ministers are obliged to mark time and to await this blessing and the priests who may bring the same to them.[1] With regard to doctrine-schools, there are at present very few managed by secular priests, for the reason that few of the latter have come over to the Islands owing to the fact that very few have been ordained as such, there being a scarcity of students for this ministry.

The Order of Saint Augustine has at present many doctrine schools in the Islands of the tattooed natives, with established monasteries and other village shrines or *visitas*. Likewise, in the Island of Luzon in the provinces of Ilocos, Pangasinan, and in every town of Pampanga province, monasteries are to be found making a considerable number of them; and in the province of

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[3] With the preceding note and with the present state of the country this expression ought to be understood in its real and not in its metaphorical sense.

[4] An inaccuracy of our historian of which the Dominicans took advantage to claim their antiquity in the country. The Jesuits preceded the Dominicans seven years as missionaries and as a constituted province. Well now, if the coming of Fr. Domingo de Salazar as bishop and of Fr. Cristoval de Salvatierra, his companion, has to be regarded as the first coming of the Province, then Jesuits and Dominicans were contemporaneous in the country.

[1] And nevertheless, the Dominicans were going to Cambodia, and the Franciscans and Augustinians to Japan, thus failing in loyalty and disturbing the good harmony of the relations with this kingdom.

Manila and its evirons, there are excellent monasteries too.

The Order of Saint Dominic owns doctrine-schools in the province of Cagayan, and there are likewise some of them in that of Pangasinan where said Order maintains both monasteries and village shrines or *visitas*, aside from many others which they maintain in the neighborhood of Manila City.

The Order of Saint Francis maintains some doctrine-schools and monasteries around Manila and the entire province of Camarines and its opposite coasts, likewise around the Lake of Bai region, thus making a considerable number of them.

The Society of Jesus maintains three large doctrine schools around Manila and many *visitas* or village shrines as well, as many others in the region of the tattooed natives, in the islands of Cebu, Leyte, Ibabao, Samar and Bicol, and many others within their limits, with very good and industrious workers in the conversion of the natives.

These four Orders have accomplished considerable results in the conversion of the people of these Islands as has already been stated, and as a matter of fact the natives have received well the matters of the faith[1] being as they are very intelligent people[2] who have realized the errors of their condition as gentiles, and the truth of the Christian religion; and now they have good churches and well-constructed timber monasteries with fine paintings and ornaments adorning their churches, having fine service sets, crosses, candelabra, silver and and gold chalices, with many pious organizations and fraternities, continuation of the sacraments and attendance in the Divine Office and their liberality in regaling and maintaining their priests with great obedience and respect, and the many alms given to them and the considerable subscriptions they make to help the souls in purgatory, and for the burying of the dead, to which call they respond with real promptness and prodigality.[3]

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[1] From the sense of what follows it is deduced that it does not mean religions but the inhabitants of the Philippines, though the grammatical construction seems to say the contrary.

[2] Only after the religious saw that their position was strong did they begin to spread calumnies and to debase the Filipinos with a view of giving themselves more importance, making themselves always indispensable, and thus excusing their stupidity and ignorance with the pretended courseness of the Indio. However, the Jesuits must be excepted for they almost always did justice to he Indios and they were also the ones who had done most to educate and enlighten them without pretending thereby to declare themselves as their perpetual protectors, tutors, defenders, *etc., etc.*

The priests have not only given their instruction on religion with mention of the natives' creed, but they also make efforts to teach them manners and good conduct, and maintain reading and writing classes in Spanish[4] for the youth. They are taught to serve the Church in plain singing, chanting with organ accompanyment, in playing wind-instruments, dancing, singing and playing the harp, guitars and other instruments in which they are already proficient, particularly around Manila which has good chapels for training the natives in singing and playing wind-instruments, some of whom are expert and sing excellently. There are many good dancers who handle the other instruments[5] when solemnizing and honored the festivals of the Most Holy Sacrament and many others every year. They also play short comedies and plays in Spanish and in their own tongue, very gracefully; and all this is due to the care and diligence of the priests, who do not tire in training the natives for their own improvement[6].

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[3] This prodigality of the Filipinos in things that refer to religion and to its priests must have guessed since the beginning by the first missionaries at the sight of "rich and well dressed *Catalonas* and *Babaylanes*, despised nevertheless by the people who considered them rogues and idlers. An evidence of this quality and the ancient wealth of the Filipinos, says the Franciscan Fr. Felix Huerta, wis the religious feast that the town of Lumbang (Laguna) celebrated in 1600. They made a rattan lamp covered with diamonds and jewels of pure gold that weighed three *arrobas* (75 pounds) and whose jewels and diamonds belonged to the towns of Mahayhay, Liliw, and Nagkarlang. The litters (*andas*) also were of rattan whose decorations of gold and precious stones weighed four *arrobas*. And a triumphal chariot of such magnitude that it moved on 26 wheels, all covered with jewels of extreme value! Compare now the poverty of these towns with their past!

[4] Long before this the Indios had schools where they learned to read and write in Tagalog, in which all of them were skilled. This eagerness to teach how to read and write in Spanish would be laudable if at the same time they teach the language, for, as it happens now, the child loses two or three years in school, reading and writing in a language he does not understand, while quite often neither does he read nor write correctly his own. We don't want to say why it was not desired to continue the education of the Indio since from the very beginning he showed such itellectual aptitudes that according to Chirino "they (the Indios) used booklets and devotional books in their language and written by hand of which there were many." The same priest was commissioned in 1609 to examine them in case they contained errors. Since old times they served as clerks "in the offices of public accountants and secretaries of the kingdom." "And we have known", says Colin, "some who are so capable that they merited appointment as officials of those offices. And perhaps to substitute in those offices" (as it happens now.) "They are a great help to scholars for making clean copy of their drafts, not only in Spanish but also in Latin, as there are already among them who have learned it. They are, finally the printers at the two printing presses in this city of Manila..." This was thirty years after the arrival of the Spaniards, there being no colleges for Indios, because the College of San José admitted only the sons of Spaniards, just like the Colegio de San Juan de Letrán which opened 40 years later. The Roman historians could not say as much about their colonies in spite of the fact that these were in frequent contact with the civilized world. It is true also that excepting the provinces of the East and perhaps some Germanic tribes, none of the Roman provinces or colonies of the West had an alphabet of its own and a language as rich as the Tagalog, as Professor Blumentritt very well observes. Only now that education in the towns is so neglected, the very ones who ought to attend to it and are responsible for its shortcomings rightly or wrongly cackle about the ineptitude and dullness of the Filipinos.

In these Islands there is not one province or native settlement the residents of which will resist conversion and not desire it,[1] but as has already been mentioned, sometimes baptism has been withheld from them, and they are made to wait for it owing to the lack of servers to remain with them and prevent them from going back to their idolatrous ways. The best thing that can be done is actually done, considering that the subjects of the doctrine are ample and broad, and oftentimes the priests have to avail themselves of certain clever natives they have in their schools who have been properly taught and trained at the *visitas* or shrines during the festivals, to teach the others in turn, to pray every day, and to attend together with the priests, to all matters regarding religion, to come to mass in the capitals, and in this way they will remain loyal and entertained.

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[5] "This musical ability of the Filipinos was recognized at all times and already in the XVII century there was a Tagalgo layman virtuoso of the Order of St. Augustine who was "a grand organist, master singer," a junior sexton, "having composed and written many chorus books." "His parents were chiefs; and the site where the present church and sacristy of the convent of Manila (St. Augustine) belonged to his grandfather." (G. San Agustín, p. 491). The Jesuits Chirino and Colin speak of this same musical ability and speaking about the Tagalog guitar of four strings called *Coryapi* (*Kuriapi*) they say that they played them with skill "and it is a proven thing that by playing it they can speak to each other and understand what they want." Perhaps due to this great musical ability, they consider it useless and superfluous to establish a conservatory of music.

"Historians praise a great deal the Filipino dance, "bellicose and passionate, but with steps and regulated variations" executed to the sound of a Chinese bell. Colin describes at length these dances and confirms what Chirino says that they are so graceful and charming that they solemnize with them Christian processions and feasts. All this has been lost, not through the fault of any one but because of the Filipinos themselves who hastened to set aside their own to adopt what is new."

[6] This observation is valid for comedies in Spanish, religious music, the harp, *etc.;* but for comedies in Tagalog, Filipino dance, and poetical and musical aptitudes, I believe that in this regard the Filipinos have to be grateful to God, to nature, and to their culture. Morga exaggerates slightly for a good purpose and in good faith.

[1] This assertion may pass for the civilized Filipinos because with regard to the mountain tribes the contrary happened. We have the testimony of various Dominican and Augustinian missionaries that they did not dare enter to "make conversions unless accompanied by people and soldiers, "for otherwise they would not be able to gather any frui tof the Evangelical Doctrine, because the infidels wanted to take away the lives of the religious who entered to preach to them." (G. San Agustín, p. 355). In this way, accompanied by an *encomendero,* Fr. Manrique was able to

So far, the religious Orders which direct these doctrine-schools pursuant to all-embracing, etc. apostolic concessions, have performed the work of conversion, and have administered the sacraments and attented to the spiritual, ecclesiastical and temporal affairs of the natives and the providing of dispensations for impediments. However, since there are bishops and archbishops to function, the matter can become more simplified, and a permanent system be devised, since the priests are their vicars, although the time is not yet ripe for a proper administration of the natives in proper justice to them, as it is endeavored to materialize.[2]

The Governor and the Royal *Audiencia* or Supreme Court in Manila assist each other in providing for whatever may be necessary for the promotion and improvement of the matter of conversion and administration of the natives and their religious life. Thus, they require the *encomenderos* or grant-holders to get together with the priests and churches of their jurisdiction since they

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baptize in Panay 700 infidels. At times the efficacy of the preaching of the arquebus was not enough to make them understand the gentleness of the Catholic religion, and then something similar to what the missionary historian tells us occurred: "In order to convert them Fr. Juan de Abarca, Prior of Gapan, and Fr. Diego Tamayo went up the mountains with an escort of many Pampangos and for their corporal they had a very brave man called Mr. Agustín Sonson. . . to invade them by fire and sword as was done by Mr. Agustín with his men, killing many of them, among them the Indio Cavadi. (p. 474). These savage tribes must be very stupid not to understand the excellence and sanctity of the religion of the friars through these means!

[2] With his characteristic prudence Morga alludes to the great question of diocesan visits which began with Fr. Domingo de Salazar and could not be finished until 1775 in the time of Anda. Thanks to his energy and to the efforts of Archbishop Basilio Sancho de Santa Justa y Rufina, after great troubles, they succeeded to subject the friar curates to the visits of the bishops. Morga, however, insinuates it without daring to state clearly.

are to supply the stipends and aid for the doctrine-schools out of the Royal treasure so far as may correspond to them, which is no mean matter,[3] and to provide further for whatever may be proper in the premises to remedy any situation as regards said doctrine-schools for the advantage of the natives. Likewise, the archbishop and bishops are also called upon, when necessary, to help out in their capacity as shepherds of the natives.

The holy office of the Inquisition which is domiciled in Mexico, New Spain, counts in Manila, and in the diocese of the Islands, with its commissaries, trusted personnel and clerks, to attend to matters regarding the said holy Office, which are never too few to take action on,[1] in view of the entry in these parts, of so many foreigners, even if this holy Tribunal does not take cognizance of cases involving the affairs of the natives, who have just recently been converted to the faith.[2]

All these Islands have been pacified, and they are governed from Manila, each of them having *alcaldes mayores* or magistrates, correctors and lieutenants on each of whom devolves the duty to govern and administer justice in their respective jurisdictions and provinces. The matters on appeal from their orders and decisions, are certified to the Audiencia Real or Supreme Court, on proper appeal; and as to the administration and government also on war or defense, these duties devolve on the Governor and Captain-General.

The *principales* or native noblemen who formerly had the power to rule tyrannically over the other natives, have no longer any authority over them in the same way they formerly did; and this was not the least benefit that the natives derived, that is, their having been freed from such bondage[3]. However, with regard to the matter of established slavery, the old status has remained without any change whatsoever[4]. Our Lord the King has ordered by his decrees that *principales* or noblemen be made to retain their honors as such, and that the people should continue to recognize them and should attend to them by helping them in some chores[5] as in the old times of their pre-Christian condition. The same is done with the chiefs and possessors of *barangay* authority, who are made to retain their influence over their henchmen, such as being entitled to the assistance of their men when the former have to harvest rice, or when they build or repair their house, and when said chiefs of *barangay* collect tribal tribute from their men, of which tribute they take charge for the purpose of turning it over to the *encomenderos*[1] or grant-holders concerned.

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[3] The Augustinians received besides one fourth of the tribute of the towns while they built churches with 200 pesos and 200 *cavanes** of clean rice for four priests who heard confession during Lent. Fifty cavanes of clean rice seem to us too much; it turns out that each friar consumes 12-1/2 pounds of rice or 127 *chupas*** daily, thirteen times more than any Indio.

[1] The inquisitorial methods have profaned Philippine territory. In the time of Corcuera we see the skilled intervention of the commissary of the Holy Office in order to wrest from him a criminal and Fr. F. de San Antonio tells us (Part I, book I, p. 168) that *he had seen some burned in his time* for sins against nature.

[2] A wise foresight, for otherwise the Indios might have fled away from Christianization.

Aside from the above, every town has its executive chosen by election, who, together with his *alguacil* soldiers are referred to as *vilangos*,[2] they being the local authorities for the natives. Said executive or mayor takes cognizance of civil cases of average amount; and from his decision or ruling, an appeal may be taken to the corrector or magistrate of the province. The election of these Governors is conducted every year, through the votes of all married natives of the town, and the Governor of Manila confirms their election, and confers the title of governor on the executive-elect, and requires the outgoing Official to render an accounting on his incumbency[3].

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[3] We already proved in the notes on pages 29, 281, 289, 295, 299, 300. *etc.* that in the change of master, the Filipino parians went from bad to worse.

[4] Therefore the benefit that Morga claims the country had derived only favored the *Timawa* or free plebeians, who afterwards were enslaved with so much ease by the Spanish *encomenderos* who looked only after own interest at the expenses of the poor estates and the life of the tenants."

[5] All this is now historical.

[1] The office still survives though not the honor.

[2] *Bilango* means now in Tagalog prison (act) and *bilanguan*, jail (place). This transformation of the meaning of the word is perhaps due to the experience the unfortunate Indio had of going to jail as soon as he came in contact with the authorities for in the courts in the Philippines the prison or jail is the past in which all are most interested. Perhaps also Morga had confused the name of the municipal authorities.

[3] Now not all the native vote but only some hapless head of *barangay*, the largest number of them being subject to the parish priest. The parish priest suggests , meddles in these affairs, gives his vote, and

Aside from these local officers and the clerk before whom he makes his orders in writing in the language of the natives of said province,[4] the Governor also avails himself of the *principales* who are chiefs of *barangays* as well as those who are not so, all of whom are under his authority, besides the datus and petty chiefs, for every purpose, collection of tribute and the distribution of personal services; and they never consent that these *principales* commit any abuses to the *timawas* or the slaves who are under the latter's authority.

The very same customs that these natives had been following before their conversion to Christianity, are recognized in their favor after they had been so converted,[5] so long as they are not contrary to natural rights, particularly as to slavery, succession, inheritance, adoption, making of wills and legal contracts. In litigations in Court, they always invoke and rely on the customs, and the former are decided according to them, pursuant to Royal decrees. In other cases in which said customs cannot be invoked and in criminal cases, it is regular law that is made applicable to them, like in cases among the Spaniards.

All these Islands and the natives therein residing have been pacified and were from the beginning, subjected to *encomiendas* or grants from the Royal Crown, with regard to capitals and ports, and grants and particular towns throughout the province, were likewise devised for the needs and expenditures of the Royal Exchequer. The rest was all entrusted to the conquerors and settlers who have served and taken part during the conquest, war and pacification. The matter is in charge of the Governor who considers the merits and the services of the candidates. In the same manner they place the towns that vacate, under new *encomiendas*. There are many and good profit-making ones through the Is-

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sends secret reports, descending to the category of spy and informer. The citizen has lost his right to elect his chief, hence the elect no longer renders an account, being the irresponsible person that he is and arm of another indisputable head.

[4] Now it is done in Spanish.

[5] This wise measures has not always been respected, rather often under pretext of reforming, they (Spaniards) destroyed existing ones without substituting for them something better.

lands, not only in view of the amount of tribute produced but also owing to the quality and standing of the tax-payers.[1] The *encomiendas* is constituted by law and Royal Decree, likewise by the manner for succeeding to them; and it subsists for two lives[2] on the part of the grant-holders. In the third generation, the grantee may apply for the extension of the grant for the current generation, after which the same expires automatically. After this, a new *encomienda* is created and commences to be in force.

The rates of tribute assessed upon the natives were fixed by the first Governor, Don Miguel Lopez de Legaspi, in the provinces of the Visayas, of the tattooed natives, and in the Island of Luzon and its neghboring islands, and in the amount of eight *reales*[3] or a piece of eight (one peso), for a full tribute to be paid by each person per year, in whatever species he may possess, such as gold, blankets, cotton, rice, bells, hens and whatever he may be able to produce. The species were duly appraised so that the amount would in no case exceed the assessment of eight *reales.* In this way, the tribute has been subsisting until the present, but the Governors have from time to time, increased the same in an amount suitable to their particular needs.

The system which the grant-holders used in the collection of the tribute in species, was suite profitable to them, in that when various articles were delivered to them as tribute, they in turn, sold the same at much higher prices, and this greatly increased their income, and likewise the importance of the *encomienda*[1] concerned in a considerable manner, so that many years before the present time, upon petition of the priests forwarded to His Majesty, the latter decreed that the natives might choose the manner of paying their tribute, whether in specie or in currency, and could not be compelled to pay the same in any particular manner, in such a manner that, upon paying the tribute in *reales*, they were considered to have fully performed their assessment duty. However, this mandate was not put into practice at once and even if it appeared an act of charity and favor to the natives, it was in fact detrimental to them in the long run, for the reason that the natives not being much inclined to manual labor, they are not much given to planting, weaving, gold mining, raising chickens or producing food-stuffs in the appreciable scale they used to formerly, when they were compelled to pay tribute in species[2]. Then they could raise one peso easily and without much trouble, with which to settle the tribute. For this reason, the natives own less possessions, and the lands which were very fruitful, are how feeling the lack and need of products of the soil, so that His Majesty as well as the private persons who own the lands, have suffered considerable less and decrease in land values.

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[1] Kown is the rapidity with which many of these *encomenderos* made themselves rich in a few years, leaving behind them at their death colossal fortunes. Some were not satisfied with the tributes and with what they asked but they made false measures, balance double the weight of what is marked, demanding tribute of certain kinds only and imposing the price at their whim.

[2] That is, for two generations.

[3] He fixed the tribute that the natives ought to give to their *Encomenderos*", say Fr. San Agustin (page 245) "and it was a cotton blanket, in the province where cloth was woven whose value is four *reales*, two fanegas of rice and a hen, and this is once every year; and those who did not have blankets should give its value in other kind that is produced in that town, and where no rice is grown, they should give two reales and half real in exchange for the hen."

[1] This proves either that the valuation was very unfair or else the *encomenderos* do not follow it.

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[2] This is not exact, because they worked more and they had more industries when there were no *encomenderos*, that is, when they were heathens, as Morga himself asserts. (p. 229, 358, etc.) What happened—and this is what the Spaniards do not understand, in spite of the fact that it shines through the events and some historians have indicated at it—was that the Indios, seeing that they were vexed and exploited by their *encomenderos* on account of the products of their industry, and not considering themselves beasts of burden or the like, they began to break their looms, abandon the mines, the fields, *etc.* believing that their rules would leave them alone on seeing them poor, wretched, and unexploitable. Thus they degenerated and the industries and agriculture so flourishing before the coming of the Spaniards were lost, as is proven by their own accounts relating incessantly the abundance of the supply of foodstuffs, gold placers, textiles, blankets, etc. Contributing not a little towards this was the depopulation of the Islands as a consequence of he wars, expeditions, insurrections, cutting of timber, shipbuilding, *etc.*, that destroyed or kept busy farm and industrial laborers. Even in our own days we hear often in the huts the sad but puerile desire of the hapless who hoped for the day when there shall not be in the Philippines a single cent so that they might be liberated from all plagues. This ought not to have been hidden from Morga's clairvoyance, but influenced perhaps by the mob of querulous *encomenderos*, he had not been able to discern the origin of the future and long decadence of the Philippines that in time might be converted into real indolence, because bad things can soon become a habit.

When Gomez Perez Dasmariñas assumed the Governorship of the Philippine Islands, he brought with him certain Royal decrees for organizing in Manila, a Camp for four hundred positions for soldiers with pay and their officers; also for alleys and other instruments of war, for the defense and security of the country, in which all the Spanish residents earning no salaries, were interested. Then it was decreed that the tribute of each tax-payer be increased by two *reales* in addition to the former amount of eight *reales*, to be collected by the encomenderos, the total of which is to be turned into the Royal coffers. This added tribute, aside from the other funds of His Majesty's coffers, was to be apportioned as follows: one and one half *reales*, for the maintenance of the Camp and matters of defense, and the remaining half *real*, for stipends and prebends of the Church in Manila, which is maintained by His Majesty's coffers in the meantime that said church's tithes and income are insufficient for their support.[1]

This tribute is unformly assessed on all natives, whether Christianized or otherwise, with the exception of the *encomenderos*, where there aré no doctriné-schools, the grantholders do not take for themselves the two *reales* or fourth part of the tribute, for the reason that there are no doctrine-schools, and therefore, there are no expenses connected therewith. but instead. they take said fourth part tribute to Manila, inside a box called the chest of the *Cuartas* (fourths) and all the funds therein kept are expended on hospitals for the natives and in other matters for their benefit, as the Governor may see fit to provide for. As soon as there are doctrine-schools and priests to run them, the collection and expenditure of these *cuartas* ceases for the hospitals, etc.

In some provinces, a proper count or census of the natives is made, so that the collection of tribute of two **reales** and their apportionment, are made on the basis of said census or list of persons.

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[1] When the fortress of Zamboanga was established the tribute of taxpayer was increased by one ganta of rice for the maintenance of the soldiers, an increase that was retained even after the loss of that fortress.

In most of the provinces, no census is made of the people, and the tribute is collected by the grant-holders and the collectors, together with the *principales* or noblemen within the *encomienda,* at the time of collection, consulting their lists and records of the previous years, deducting therefrom the dead and absent tax-payers, and adding thereto the newly-grown ups and new arrivals in the *encomienda* or grant. In case there is a deficiency or proper figuring, a new count is demanded and accomplished.

The natives have the right to transfer from one island to another, by paying their tribute for that year in the latter place and from one chirstianized town to another having a doctrine-school, but not to do the reverse, because they are forbidden to move from one place having a doctrine school, to another not having the same. Neither are they allowed to transfer to another *barangay* in the same town, nor to transfer from one group to another. The Governor has given certain instructions on this matter and the Royal *Audiencia* or Supreme Court has handed decisions in order to uphold the former orders, thus preventing any inconvenience and misunderstanding in the transfer of natives permanently residing in one place of the country to another.

Neither have they any leave to abandon their towns for their enterprises, unless they count with the Governor's permission for the purpose, or that of provincial magistrates and justices or even of their priests[1] who have, on certain occasions, been embarrassed in view of the functions of the doctrine-schools, as they do not want the natives to go around wandering about away from their houses and towns, without any need for it.

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[1] "It is not strange then that agriculture had declined, if the Indio could not go to his work without the permission of the provincial governor, the magistrate, *etc.* Those who knew the delay and complication of our administration can imagine how long the Indio has to wait for his permit to visit his plantations. Even today almost the same thing happens, though in a different way. The Indio can go freely to his fields but if they are far from the town he needs the permission of the bandits whose good grace cannot be obtained except through a good firearm. Well now, licenses for firearms are not always granted, and if they are granted, it is after months and months of waiting, so that the thing is the same at the bottom and in its effects.

The natives who keep slaves who are *saguiguilids*, pay the tribute due and owing by the latter, and if they are *namamahay* slaves of the outer part of the house, the said natives pay their own tribute themselves, because they own houses and have their own occupations.

Some Spaniards used to have slaves whom they had bought from the natives. Others owned slaves obtained from expeditions and during the conquest and pacification of the Islands.[2] However, this practice was put an end to, by order of His Holiness and by Royal decrees. Therefore, all the slaves who were natives of these Islands who were in the possession of the Spaniards whatever the manner of their acquisition might have been, were given freedom; and it was forbidden the Spaniards to henceforth keep such slaves or to make slaves out of captives for any reason whatsoever, through war or otherwise. The services which the natives rendered to them are compensated through wages or soldier's pay. The other slaves and captives that they possess, and the Caffirs and Negros bought by the Portuguese and brought over by way of India, acquired through justified means from slave camps in accordance with the provincial council's disposition and licenses issued by the prelates and authorities of those places.[1]

The natives of these Islands had also certain obligations of personal services to perform to the Spaniards in different ways in some places more than in others, and it was commonly known as *Polo*[2]. Wherever there are alcaldes or magistrates and authorities there are natives assigned to them weekly to serve in their homes, earning a moderate compensation which is approximately one-fourth *real* (3 cents) per day, plus rice to eat. The same service is rendered to the priests who teach the doctrine, and who live in the monasteries and churchs and their branches, also in all work of the Orders.[3]

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[2] So that they did not introduce any moral improvement. We don't know, howeaer, if the Filipinos in their wars among themselves made slaves, which would not be unusual, for histories tell us of captives returned to their country and the practice of the pirates of the South proves it, though in these piratical wars, as we already pointed out, the Spaniards were the first ones to provoke them and regulated them.

[1] However, slaves remained, because even in later times we find them and not only in the possession of Indios but but also of Spaniards, like that famous slave of the gunner Francisco Nava whose sale and assassination began an era of troubles between the civil and temporal authorities.

[2] This has already disappeared from the laws, though personal services to the State continue, lasting fifteen days. So unfair ad arbitrary a measure, origin of abuses, vexations and other injustices, hurts agriculture not a little by robbing it of laborers even in seasons when they are very necessary without any benefit accruing to the State except to some petty tyrants and private persons.

The natives are also obliged to sell rice, provisions of all kinds at prices current among the natives, that is, moderate ones; and the datus and local authorities and fiscals gather said supplies from the natives and distribute them to those entitled to them, also among the encomenderos when the latter go around collecting the tribute.

The most important service rendered by the natives is in the time of war, supplying rowers and crewmen for the "viceroy-type" craft and large vessels, which are sent out on expeditions. Likewise, the prisoners sentenced to labor are called upon to serve in time of war, and they are paid their salaries or wages accordingly.

In the same manner, the natives are distributed and assigned to do labor for His Majesty's projects such as logging, manufacture and repair of vessels and rigging and cordage work,[4] foundry work of the artillery and in the warehouses, for which they are paid stipends or wages.

Any further work of the natives rendered to the Spaniards and their vessels and in other kind of jobs, is voluntary, through mutual agreement and with compensation. Inasmuch as to this date, the Spaniards are not engaged in any mining nor in any agricultural activities, the natives are not employed in any of these enterprises.

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[3] Even today when life has become relatively very much dearer, we have seen the religious pay this moderate wage of *eight cuartos daily without rice* to people who have to come from different towns and compelled to work at the Hospital de Aguas Santas for whose construction enormous contributions and alms have been collected, charity bazaars had been held, *etc.* Thus with very little money the building was constructed, which, if it had cost so much sweat and injustice, at least it is unoccupied and useless today, like a house occupied by ghosts. We remember that the hapless *polistas* in order to escape this vexation and to be able to till their lands paid substitutes at the rate of three *reales* daily; that is, seven and a half more than the wage given by the lay director of the work at the hospital. Notwithstanding, though this building has not housed or has served for any other thing except to enrich certain pockets already rich and to impoverish the poor, we prefer the manipulation of the lay brother to that of certain officials of the civil guard who catch peaceful people to make them clean *gratis* their dirty lodgings.

[4] Taal was one of the towns where the most cordage was manufactured for the royal ships.

Most of the Spaniards in the Philippine Islands are residing in the City of Manila which is the capital and seat of the Representative of the Kingdom, as well as the principal center for commerce and trading, and wheré reside some of the *encomenderos* of thé néighboring provinces and settlements; while other Spaniards live in the cities of Segovia, Cáceres, and of that of the Most Holy name of Jesus, Cebu, and in the *villa* or privilleged settlement of Arévalo where they live in great numbers, many of whom have grants or *encomiendas* there.

In the towns of this nature, the Spaniards are not allowed to stay except only to go to collect tribute when it is due[1]. Likewise, the *alcalde* or magistrate, the correctors and local authorities are forbidden and not allowed to stay long in any particular place of their districts,[2] but only for as long a time as may be needed. They are enjoined to move their residence and quarters every four months to another town to live, or other settlement where all the natives may avail themselves of their ministrations, and so that it may not be so burdensome to their daily work for a living, and to their ordinary services to their masters as well.

The Governor attends to making all the appointments; and the *Real Audiencia* or Supreme Court considers the *residencias* required of them as a report of them as a report of their incumbency, upon the expiration of the same; and before they go out of their Office when their successors have been appointed and assumed their duties.[3]

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[1] A measure of high politics, sometimes so that they may not mingle and come in touch with the natives, sometimes so that the natives may not come to know the weaknesses and defects of the Spaiards and so that the class may not lose prestige, or sometimes also so that they may not be killed or maltreated for the vexations and extortions that naturally they had to commit in making the collection.

[2] A measure based on the policy of distrust and misgiving that characterized the Spanish government. With this mobility the governor is prevented from having friendships or sympathies in the region he governs. It has no other disadvantages except that the governors are always perpetual apprentices, and since neither affection nor friendship bind them to the people, they can govern with more impudence. Unfortunately the system continues until now, though instead of improving, it has become worse.

Designations are likewise made of chiefs of forts, commanders of companies and other officers of defense or war, for all cities, *villas* and settlements in the Philippine Islands.

Some appointments for magistrates and notaries for life, have been made through Royal decrees, but the issuance and sale of them have been discontinued for the reason that, at the present time, the prices paid for them have not been considered adequate,[1] and the disadvantages in perpetuating them in this manner are even greater.

The election in all the towns for regular Spanish magistrates are made on New Year's Day by the religious personnel and the regiments; and the reports of the outgoing ordinary magistrates and of the Church prelates are demanded from them by His Majesty, at the same time that the Governor and Captain General of the Islands renders his own; and the Administration renders an accounting of their income and expense budget; but notwithstanding this, before this date arrives, this year or whenever it may be necessary, the Governor takes charge of the accounts and have the revenues collected, out of which the expenses which the towns desire to be made are met with, upon said Governor's leave and advise.

The City of Manila counts with sufficient income in the fines and impositions made by the judges in their Courts for several years, also from its own possessions within and without the City, likewise in the reweighing of merchandise and in rentals from all its estates and stalls of the Parian market of the Chinese for the monopoly of gaming cards,[2] all of which was the result of His Majesty's bounty. Particular provision was made for the expenses of fortification, such as salaries of its officers and the solicitors they send to Spain, and for the festivals of the City, the principal ones Saint Potenciana's Day, on May the nineteenth on which date the Spaniards entered and won the City; Saint Andre's Day, November the thirteenth, when they won victory and drove away Limahon,[3] the corsair. On this day, the City takes out on procession, the standard of the City the evening before, to the mass said in the Saint Andrew Church, where all residents of the City, the regiment and the religious personnel, attends together with the personnel of the Royal *Audiencia*, with all solemnity. The same thing is done in the reception of the Governor who comes for the first time to the country, and on the festivals on the wedding of Kings, births of princes, and the funeral honors made for those prominent persons who die, on which occasions, the greatest possible demonstration is accomplished.

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[3] This holy *Residencia* has disappeared. Today no one is required any more to render a close account of his conduct, which if it is bad, it cannot hurt any one except the country *directly* and Spain perhaps in the future. This has reached such a degree that now the expenses and accounts of the budget of the Philippines are examined in the Exchequer in Madrid, perhaps because the rulers distrust the loyalty of those of Manila, but with the coming and going, the time that passes, the subterfuges, the administration that falls and changes, *etc.*, *etc.*, everything turns out the same in its effects.

[1] There were then more lucrative positions.

The other cities and settlements have so far not so much wealth or income of its own or any occasion on which to spend the same, although recourse is had to the same, to the extent of their means, for occasions of the same nature.

The Spaniards who are in the Islands are divided into five cathegories of people, that is, prelates, priests, secular and regular ecclesiastical ministers, *encomenderos*, settlers and conquerors, soldiers, officers, and land, sea and navigation personnel, merchants and men of business and trade; His Majesty's officials for the government and administration of the Royal Exchequer.

It has already been stated that the ecclesiastical prelates and the archbishop of Manila resides in the City as a metropolitan bishop, with his cathedral church.

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[2] We don't know when the monopoly of playing-cards disappeared; perhaps long before the establishment of the monopoly of betel.

[3] See note 4, page 10. (Spanish text)

He enjoys a stipend of four thousand pesos, paid every year out of the Royal Exchequer;[1] likewise the allowances, canons and other prebends, also all outlays of said church; all coming under the Royal patronage, provided for in accordance with the Royal treasury rules. Its scope and jurisdiction should be understood to include all spiritual, temporal and ecclesiastical matters and their administration.[2]

The bishop of the City of the Most Holy Name of Jesus, Cebu; that of Segovia in Cagayan; and of Cáceres in Camarines, have a similar jurisdiction and services in their dioceses, as suffragans of the metropolitan bishop of Manila, to whom an appeal may be taken from the former's decision. He summons them to the meeting of their provincial councils when necessary. Each of them enjoys a stipend of five hundred thousand *maravedis*[3] for his support out of the Royal Exchequer of Manila, aside from the offerings and pontificial fees, the total of which is sufficient for his maintenance, in keeping with the comfort and bounty of the land. At present they have no churches with the corresponding emoluments, neither are they given stipends for the purpose.

The regular prelates are the provincials or priors of the four Orders of Mendicants of Saint Dominic, Saint Augustine, Saint Francis, the Society of Jesus, and the barefooted Augustinians, each of whom governs his respective Order and inspects and visits the same. They direct practically all the doctrine schools of the natives, especially as to what concerns the administration of the sacraments, and conversion of grace in accordance with their privileges and apostolic bulls, which they possess until now. They are in charge of the judicial phase of the matters as the vicars of the bishops; and in view of their appointments and powers derived from them. The barefooted Augustinians have no doctrine schools until now, having just recently arrived in the Philippine Islands.

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[1] Now he has ₱12,000.

[2] Now the Philippines pay. For 1 dean, 4 dignitaries, 5 canons, 4 prebendaries, 4 half prebendaries, other lower ministers and subalterns with the chapel choir which are composed altogether of 26 members, ₱36,670 with the ₱3,330 for the sacristans, singers, and orchestra make a total of ₱40,000 annually.

[3] From 750 to 1,000 pesos. Now, these bishops have each ₱6,000 with two assistant priests from ₱100 to ₱150 monthly.

The monasteries are maintained by some private income which they have acquired, particularly the Augustinians and those of the Society of Jesus, in addition to certain aids which His Majesty has extended to them for their support. The Dominicans and Franciscans do not have any income or admit any property[1] and, together with the others, they mostly avail themselves of alms offerings and aid for the souls in purgatory given by those living where they are stationed to serve, be they Spaniards or natives, who help them piously and abundantly. Besides, they enjoy the usual stipends which the *encomenderos* or grant-holders deliver to them in view of the doctrine schools they are directing. Therefore, they live well in the customary comfort.[2]

The old *encomenderos* or grant-holders, conquerors and settlers of these Islands and those who had succeeded them, had supported themselves honorably[3] out of the fruits of their grants and industry and trade in which they had been engaged like the rest. There was a considerable number of them living in Manila, each one having his own house in the City and *población* of the Spaniards in which province their grant was located, for the reason that they did not desire to neglect said *encomiendas* but rather to be near at hand for the purpose of attending to all their necessities and to collect the tribute from its people.

There remain very few of the original conquerors who conquered and won the land, together with the *adelantado* Miguel Lopez de Legazpi.

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[1] This might be true in Morga's timebut it seems that since then these orders have been reformed because now they have properties and the Dominican Order counts not only with very rich estates in the Philippines, like those of Biñan, Sta. Rosa, Kalamba, *etc.* but also very numerous propertes in the neighborig colonies, like Hong Kong, where they manage their millions, build continually houses, engage in business, hold shares, etc., the greater part of the properties on the island belonging to the Spanish Dominican Procuracion, very much respected even in the Court for its enormous wealth.

[2] Of course since the beginning the friar missionaries had very few opportunities to suffer for religion.

[3] However, about the extortions, frauds, *etc.* that many committed, see the notes on pages 289, 299, *etc.* (Spanish text)

The soldiers and personnel of war and of the navy, used to be the settlers and residents of the Islands, who, without any salary or compensation, had their arms in readiness to join and all expeditions and enterprises for pacification that should be undertaken. They also guarded the forts and prisons, cities and *poblaciónes*, and this was their main exercise and occupation, their persons being entirely in the hands of the Governor who granted to them whatever concessions, officers or sinecures were offered by the country, were available, in conformity with their merits and services.

At this time, the soldier element in the Philippine Islands was the best to be had in the Indies, as they were very practical and experienced, well-trained and respected by all the neighboring nations. They were proud of their proficiency with arms, and of their capacity to give a good account of their persons.

After Gomez Perez Dasmariñas had assumed office as Governor of the Philippine Islands, the Camp for four hundred pay-soldiers, was established as follows: the arquebuses armed soldiers earning six pesos per month each; the musketeers receiving eight pesos[1] per month each; six captains, earning four hundred and twenty pesos a year, each; also their lieutenants, sergeants, corporals, standard-bearers and drummers, with their respective salaries,[2] a master of the Camp at fourteen hundred pesos a year,[3] a sergeant-major, with a captain, at ten pesos a month salary,[4] two governors and wardens of the two forts in Manila, at four hundred pesos a year each, with their lieutenants, platoons of soldiers and artillerymen, a galley general, at eight hundred pesos salary per annum,[5] a captain for each galley, at three hundred pesos per annum[6] boatswain and his assistant, galley-masters and guards, soldiers, master carpenters, mates, sailors, and Spanish, Chinese and native galley-convicts sentenced for offenses. In the absence of forced rowers, the natives on a pay basis, make good rowers, engaged for the duration of the expedition and/or purpose of the voyage.

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[1] Soldiers of the infantry (all Indios) now receive 4 pesos monthly while the Spanish artillery soldiers receive from 13 to 15 pesos and some cents, being also 4 pesos and some cents the mothly pay of the Indio gunners.

[2] Captains now receive from 1,500 pesos each to 1,800
Second lieutenants from 975 pesos each to 1,050
First sergeants, Europeans from 318 pesos each to 360
First sergeants, natives from 180 pesos each to 360
Second sergeants, Europeans, from 248.06 pesos each to 307.50
Second sergeants, Natives from 156 pesos each to 307.50
First corporals, Europeans, from 189.56 pesos each to 202
First corporals, native, from 84
Second corporal, European, from 174 pesos each to 192
Second corporal, native from 72 pesos each to 192

[3] The second military chief (segundo cabo) receives ₱12,000.

[4] The major sergeant of the fort is now a lieutenant colonel with a salary of ₱225 monthly.

The vessels and fleets of ocean-going vessels assigned to the New Spain line, bring their general and admiral, captains, masters and their assistants, guards, stewards, artillery-sergeants, artillery-men, sailors, pilots and assistants, yonkers, carpenters, calkers and hoopers. All these are paid by His Majesty with permanent assignment to New Spain, by whose Royal Exchequer they are paid, and where everything necessary is provided for. Their appointment and all provision for them, are made by the Viceroy who has so far, been assigned to this matter, even if the vessels have been built in the Philippine Islands, and have sailed from them loaded with the merchandise for New Spain, from which they return to the Islands with the aid of soldiers and munitions of war, and everything ncessary for the Camp, together with passengers and priests, the purchases made and the currency from the proceeds from the sale of the merchandise in New Spain.

After the establishment of the Camp for pay-soldiers and expeditionary men, the other residents and inhabitants were registered in rosters, under the command of six captains of infantry, to serve without any pay in emergency occasions in the defense of the City. They were, however, exempt from customary duty as soldiers, but voluntarily offered their services for whatever expedition or particular emergency may emerge, in order to acquire experience and merit, on which to base employment in the *encomienda* concerned, or designation in any position that may become vacant in the country, offering certain compensation or advantage. They are not compelled or urged to serve unless they are grantholders. In view of this situation, almost everyone has, in the end, embraced the commercial occupation, in the absence of any other means of livelihood, without however, neglecting military exercises and discipline.

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[5] The rear admiral, commandant general of the naval station, receives now ₱16,392.

[6] The captains of frigate and warship receive from 2,700 to 5,760, according to their different duties and ranks, the annual salary of captains of brigade being 1,500.

His Majesty has forbidden the men to spend or squander in the Islands, their money earned during the war, in commercial pursuits, or to consign merchandise to New Spain; and it would be wise to comply with this prohibition.

The merchants and businessmen constitute the great majority of residents in these Islands, owing to the abundance of merchandise flowing to them, aside from the products of the said Islands,—coming from China, Japan, Moluccas and Malacca, Siam, Cambodia, Borneo and others parts where they make their purchases, which goods they load every year on the vessels leaving for New Spain; and at present likewise for Japan, wherein the raw silk brings considerable profits, and from which latter place, the sale proceeds are brought back upon return to Manila; and so far, this has brought great and wonderful advantages.

This trading has increased considerably and consequently has redounded in the detriment to the merchandise-trade of Spain, the goods of which were ordinarily shiped to Peru and New Spain; and likewise to the Royal customs revenue which would have been paid for the said merchandise. The merchants of Mexico and Peru had been impelled by greed in conducting their trading negotiations in the Philippine Islands, through the *encomenderos* and agents, so that this procedure worked to almost wipe out the business with Spain, because they customarily sent much silver to the Philippine Islands for their orders and purchase of goods. Through this channel, considerable wealth was taken away from the kingdoms of His Majesty and channeled to the Infidels,[1] so that it was forbidden to all persons in New Spain and Peru, to purchase and trade in the Philippine Islands, and to take or send any merchandise from China to the above stated countries. It was likewise directed that only the residents and inhabitants of the Philippine Islands be licensed to trade in said merchandise, to load and consign them through persons from the Philippine Islands, to sell or trade them abroad; and that from the proceeds of the sale of said goods, no amount greater than five hundred thousand pesos in cash be taken back to the Philippine Islands every year.[1]

Ordinarily a considerable number of junks and other large vessels arrive from the great country of China to Manila loaded with merchandise, and every year, approximately from thirty to forty such vessels come to the City, and, although they do not enter at the same time as a fleet or an armada, they do so in small squadrons and at deliberately calculated times, generally in the new moon of March. They depart from the provinces of Canton, Chinchow and Ucheo[2] and they accomplish the voyage to Manila City in fifteen or twenty days, sell all their merchandise, and return on time before the storms come, which means on the end of May or early part of June, in order to avoid danger during the voyage.

These vessels arrive fully loaded with merchandise together with fat merchants who own them, accompanied by servants and agents of other merchants who remain in China from where they have left with presents and licenses issued by their Viceroys and Mandarins.

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[1] That is, to China, because the Philippines scarcely benefited from this active commerce but rather all on the contrary. Admiral Jeronimo de Bañuelos y Carrillo asked in *Relación de las Islas Filipinas* that he addressed to the King the following: "That the residents of Manila be permitted to load as many ships as they could with the produce of the country, like wax, gold, perfumes, ivory, cotton cloth that must be bought from the natives of the country, thereby preventing them from selling it to the Dutch. In this way these friendly people would supply New Spain with their merchandise and the money that is brought to Manila would not go out of this emporium . . . Your Excellency ought to consider that every a million and a half enters China.' This commerce was advantageous only to the Celestial Empire and to some private persons at Manila. To Spain it was fatal and prejudicial to the Islands whose indusrty died little by little like that of the metropolis.

[1] *Cedula* of 11 January 1593.

The goods they generally bring to sell to the Spaniards are raw silk in bundles fine silk (2 heads), medium quality silk, fine loose white silk o fvarious colors in small skeins, velvet, plain and elaborated with various designs, colors and qualities, other fabrics with ground of gold, with gilt edges; fabrics and gold and silver brocades on silk of various colors and designs; skeins of gold and silver on woven threads on cotton and silk but the gold and silver threads are tinsel-like, also damask, satin, taffeta, *gorboran*, glossy silk stuff and other cloths and fabrics of all colors, some finer and better than others; linen handkerchiefs, white cotton blankets of different kinds for all purposes; musk, benzoin, ivory, various curio beds, pavilions, bed covers, hangings, embroidered on velvet; damask and *gorboran* fabrics in shades, table covers, pillows, rugs, harness-ornaments, glass-beads, imperfect pearls, rubies and zaphires, hollow stone-crystal beads, copper kettles and glasses, nails of different kinds, iron kettles and sheets, soldiering tin, lead, saltpeter and gunpowder; wheat flour, orange preservers, peaches, viper roots, pears, nutmeg ginger and other Chinese fruits, ham and bacon and other dried beef, live chickens, also for breeding purposes, very good capons, many green fruits, citrus fruits of all kinds, good chestnuts, almonds, pears, green and ripe *chicueyes* which are delicacies; séwing thread of all kinds, needles, spectacles, gilt and jasper decorated boxes, desks, beds, tables, chairs and benches of various shapes and workmanship, tame buffaloes, swan-sized geese, horses, some mules and donkeys, even caged birds that talk and sing and which can perform a thousand tricks, toys and trinkets highly esteemed by the Spaniards by the thousand at very cheap prices, aside from considerable bric-a-brac of all kinds, *cangan*[1] and **sine** fabrics, black and blue blankets and glass beads of all species, red agate, stringed beads and varied beads of stone of various colors, and so forth, and other countless curious which, if listed, would make an endless job, and would require considerable amount of paper.

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[1] This must be textile and not the porcelain of Kaga (pronounced *Kanga*) which even today is very much esteemed.

As soon as a vessel arrives at the mouth of Manila Bay, it is met by the guard or sentinel who is stationed in Miraveles Island, on board a small light craft, and, upon recognizing the incoming vessel, he places two or three soldiers on board to guard it, and allows the vessel to proceed to anchor at the sand-bar near the City. No one may leave the vessel or broad it from outside until the same has been duly inspected. The guard at the said island makes a signal with a flare, and sends a message to the City reporting the identity of the vessel entering, where it comes from, how many people and what merchandise it is bringing. Upon the entry of the vessel into the port, the Governor and the City[1] are duly notified thereof.

Upon the arrival and anchoring of the vessel, the Royal officers go to board the ship and inspect the same, and examine the manifest of merchandise it brings, and they forthwith make an estimate of said merchandise, and of its worth in Manila. The reason for this, is that the merchandise has to pay for His Majesty, a duty of three *per centum* on its value. After the inspection and appraisal of the goods, they are released and unloaded by means of *sampans* or lighters, and brought to the Parian market or to other warehouses outside of the Walled City, where they are freely sold.

It is not allowed to any Spaniard or Chinese or any other person, to go on board the vessel for the purpose of buying or negotiating the purchase of the merchandise and supplies or any other thing; and when the goods have been landed, it is likewise forbidden to purchase said merchandise through pressure or violence, but by means of free dealing; so that the Chinese may dispose of their goods as they may see fit to do.

The regular pricing of the raw and woven silks and sheeting which constitute practically the main bulk of the goods, is done carefully and slowly, and by persons who are experienced in the line, both on the part of the Spaniards and on that of the Chinese; and the money paid for them to the merchants, is in silver and **reales**, as they do not care for gold, nor other items of exchange which they do not care to take with them to China. All the purchases are made in the month of May, more or less, in order that the Chinese merchants may be enabled to return to their country, and so that the Spaniards may have the merchandise in readiness to load it on the vessels which depart for New Spain at the end of June; although the ranchers and the wealthy people usually do their business later on at more moderately fair prices, and keep the goods for the following year. Likewise, some Chinese merchants rmain in Manila with the same thing in mind, i.e., keeping some of the goods when they have not made profitable sales; in order to sell them leisurely and with better judgment. They are very practical and intelligent people in doing business, and are very cool and have a keen judgment in transacting business. They know whom to trust, and are liberal-minded toward those whom they feel are honest and true, and will not fail to settle their obligations when they are due. On the other hand, being people without morals or conscience, and impelled by greedy considerations, they commit a thousand and one frauds and swindless in connection with the merchandise, so that it is necessary for the buyers to be very careful and to know their goods well, in order for them not to be imposed upon. On their part, the latter also try to get even with them, by being poor payers of their accounts, and committing frauds themselves; and with these things on both sides, the judges and the *Audiencia* have their hands quite full.

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[1] With very little difference, this usage and this formality continue to this day.

Likewise, some vessels of Japanese and Portuguese registry, arrive from Nagasaki every year around the season when the North wind blows at the end of the month of October, and in the month of March, enter and anchor in Manila in the same order, bringing mostly wheat-flour which is very necessary for supplying Manila with this commodity, dried beef in great demand, woven colored silks, curious, screens painted in oil (lacquered),[1] all kinds of gilt, fine and well-ornamented cutlery, weapons, spears, katana swords and other curiously elaborated arms, small desks, small wooden boxes, wooden plain varnished (lacquered) and well and curiously elaborated boxes, and other attractive trinkets, good fresh pears, barrels and containers of good salted tunny-fish, cages of fine calendar larks, generally called *fimbaros* and other minor items. Several purchases are made of these commodities without payment of any Royal duties on them, on the part of the vessels; and they make good shipments for New Spain. Their price is paid in Spanish *reales*, although the Japanese are not so keen about them as the Chinese are, because the former have silver, and it is quite usual to import said commodity in considerable quantities, in the form of sheets which sell at good prices.

These vessels return to Japan during the windy weather, in the months of June and July. They carry their purchases made in Manila consisting of raw silk from China, also gold, deerskins. Brazil wood for dyeing, honey, wax, palm and Castilian wine, musk- bearing wild-cats, jars as containers of tea, glass, woolen clothes and other curiosities from Spain.

Some Portuguese vessels come with the strong winds every year, from the Moluccas, Malacca and India with merchandise, clove spices, cinnamon and pepper, cotton cloth of all kinds, fine muslins, stiff lingerie, thin linen, *rambutin* and other fine and exclusive fabrics, ambergris and ivory, embroidered fabrics with century plant threads, bedcovers, pavillions, and rich Bengal, Cochin etc., mattresses, gilded articles, curios, jewels of topazes, spinel rubies and other fine stones, both set and loose; many trinkets and curios from India, wines, raisins, almonds and tasty preservers, fruits coming from Portugal, and Persian and Turkish rugs and covers, silks and fine woolen goods, beds, desks, drawing-room chairs and curiously gilt furniture made in Macao, white and colored hand-embroidered goods, chained-stitched articles, plus other very curious and perfect embroidery work, also Negro slaves and Caffirs were bougrht by said vessels, all of which numerous items are in great demand. The payment for these things is made in Spaniards *reales* and in gold, and the vessels depart around January when the breeze blows and thereby announces the monsoon with certainty. They carry back to the Moluccas a supply of rice, wines, bric-a-brac and other trinkets which are necessary there; and for Malacca they only carry gold or currency, aside from other trinkets and curious from Spain, also emeralds. These vessels do not pay any Royal duties.

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[1] *Biombos* (screens). It seems that in Morga's time the Japanese painted in oil, a thing which cannot be easily verified now. Perhaps the observer Morga had been mistaken, taking for oil painting lacquer and sumac lacquered Japanese screens or the painting in relief that is still done in Japan today.

Likewise, from Borneo come with the winds a few small vessels of the natives there, which duly return with the early breeze. They enter the river in Manila and sell in their own craft all the goods they bring, namely, fine well-elabrated mats made of palms, some slaves for the natives, sago, which constitutes their staple food obtained from the core of the palm-tree, vases, jars, large and small, with very fine black-glass decorations, very useful and serviceable, fine camphor produced in that island; and while good diamonds are produced on the other side of the coast, they are not brought to Manila from said trade route, for the reason that the Portuguese of Malacca purchase them on their side of the island. The purchases of these Borneo products are usally made by the natives rather than by the Spaniards, and what they give in exchange are quantities of wine, rice ,cotton blankets and other trinkets of the islands which are in great demand in Borneo.

Some vessels come very rarely from Siam and Cambodia to Manila, bringing benzoin, pepper, ivory and cotton sheets, rubies and zaphires of poor workmanship, dyed materials, *cuernos de bada*,[1] skins, nails and molar teeth of said animal, and other knick-knocks, also some slaves ,and in their return they carry with them whatever varied merchandise they may desire from the Manila market. Their arrival and departure is dependant upon the breeze and winds in the months of April, May and June of every year.

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[1] Rhinoceros.

Out of these goods and of the products of the Philippine Islands, which are gold, cotton, blankets and woven fiber cloths, white and yellow wax in crude cakes, the Spaniards make their shipments, consignments and profit-producing exports to New Spain in the manner which each sender considers best to make, through the vessels or galleys which make the usual run there, registering them and listing their values, for the reason that they pay to the Royal Treasury in Manila firtsly and before the shipment leaves,—two per centum export Royal duty, aside from the freight charges of the galleon which are forty Castile ducats for every ton,[1] which are paid in Acapulco, New Spain, into the Royal Treasury of said port, aside from the ten per centum import duties and for the first sale in New Spain.[2]

Inasmuch as, according to the vessels which are dispatched on His Royal Majesty's account, loading the said merchandise to the exclusion of other craft, there is a great demand for cargo ship-space or capacity on the part of all the individual purchase-exporters,[3]—the Governor of the Islands distributes said cargo-space or capacity among the said consigners or exporters, in accordance with their standing and merit which are taken into consideration by experienced persons assigned for the purpose, each sender knowing through said distribution-plan, how much weight or ship-space he can use for his cargo, and only this is accepted by the vessel-officers together with his bill-of-lading through the trusted person in charge of said cargo who makes an allowance for the space corresponding to the provisions and the passengers' luggage which the galleons are to carry on their board. After all the cargoes have been loaded and the vessels have set sail, the papers are delivered to the General and officers who take care of the freight, and they proceed on their voyage at the end of the month of June with its first winds.

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[1] The *ducado* of Castilla was worth a little more than 2 pesos.

[2] These duties and fetters that the products of the country did not escape continue until today in such a way that they have to seek for foreign markets, those of the Mother Country not offering them any more advantages. According to a document of the year 1640 this trade yielded the government ₱350,000 annually.

[3] Experience and history have condemned this kind of monopoly of the government which paralyzed the movemet of trade.

This volume of trade in merchandise is so great and profitable and so easy to manage, considering that it only lasts three months every year, commencing on the arrival of the vessels and the merchandise from China, until they are loaded in and carried by the galleons which proceed to New Spain,—that the Spaniards have not occupied themselves with any other thing nor even discussed any other matter. Therefore, no great efforts have been made along industrial or agricultural lines, to speak of neither have they worked or developed placer-mines or mines in general, which are so abundant in the land, neither have they attended to any other matters available to them which could have yielded many advantages and profits to them, in the event that the business with the Chinese should fail them. In this connection this state of affairs has redounded in great detriment and damage[1] to the industries which the natives used to promote and develop, likewise to the occupations and activities of which the natives are beginning to let go, and to abandon,[2] not to mention the great injury and disadvantage resulting from so much wealth in silver leaving the hands of the Spaniards to fall into those of the infields every year, never again to return to our nationals.

The representatives of His Majesty in the Royal Executive, Judicial and administrative functions for the government of his interests, are:—the Governor and Captain General of the entire Islands is at the same time the Presiding Justice of the Royal *Audiencia* or Supreme Court in Manila, whose salary for all the offices he holds, is eight thousand *minas* (Greek pounds) per annum.[3] He has an honor guard of twelve halberdiers under a captain of the Guard, earning a salary of three hundred pesos per year. He provides exclusively for every matter which concerns Defense and Government upon consultation with his Associate Justices of the *Audiencia* in difficult and serious matters, and takes cognizance at first instance of all criminal cases including or involving the pay-soldiers; and his decisions may be appealed from to the Royal *Audiencia* of Manila.

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[1] The trade has already disappeared and yet the Spaniards have neither "work, nor farms of any value, nor do they work the mines, or the gold placers," etc.

[2] It is marvellous to see how things have been allowed to go on in spite of the fact that the evil has been known since the beginning.

[3] Now he received ₱40,000.

He appoints many *alcaldes mayores* or magistrates, correctors, lieutenants and other authorities for all the Islands and the provinces, to function in the Executive and Judicial matters and those of Defense of war, attended by a Clerk or secretary of Administration who has been appointed by His Majesty, and who functions with the Governor.

He likewise attends the sessions of the Royal *Audiencia* as Presiding Justice thereof, in everything that pertains to it, together with the four Justices, a Solicitor at salary of two thousand *minas* per annum each[1] a *relator* or reporter-counselor and a clerk of court, a high constable with his lieutenants and jail-warden of the Court, a chancellor and a register, two bailiffs, a chaplain, a sexton and an executioner, procurers and receiver. He tries all civil and criminal cases sent up to the High Court from all the provinces within his jurisdiction, which includes, besides the Philippine Islands, the Mainland of China already discovered and still to be discovered, with the same power vested upon the Chancelery of Valladolid and Granada in Spain. Jointly with his Associates in the *Audiencia*, he provides for whatever may be convenient for the efficient administration and benefit of the Royal Exchequer.

The Treasurer of His Majesty's Royal Exchequer and his Tribunal in the Philippine Islands is administered by three Royal officers appointed by His Majesty, to wit, a factor or director, an accountant, a treasurer earning a salary of five hundred and ten thousand *maravedis* per annum each, also a Clerk of Mines and register of the Royal Exchequer, executors and officials who reside in Manila, from where they manage and administer all matters pertaining to the Royal Exchequer of the entire Islands.[1]

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[1] The justices are eight now and their salary has also gone up to ₱4,700 each, that of the attorney general being ₱5,500.

[1] In the financial branch, the changes and benefits since then have been such that if we take up the salaries of the service, we shall go beyond the limits of commentators. Enough for us to say, in order to give an idea of them, that in the budget of the year 1888, they amounted to ₱2,278,625.

His Majesty possesses in his Royal Crown in the Philippine Ilands, a considerable number of *encomiendas* or grants throughout the provinces in the Islands, the tributes from which are collected and turned into the Royal Treasury through the local Royal officers and collectors who attend to said matters, and who collect an average of approximately thirty thousand pesos, after deducting the expenses.[2]

Every year, approximately eight thousand pesos are said to be collected as tribute from the Chinese, Christians and infidels.[3]

They also collect one-fifth of the value of all the gold produced in the Islands. However, by particular and special concession lasting for a limited time, instead of one-fifth, only one tenth is accepted upon declaration to the effect that at present no one fifth part or any duty whatsoever shall be paid on any jewels of gold which the natives have inherited from their ancestors before His Majesty had come to possess the land, thus establishing the facts involving the gold which has paid the reduced *ad valorem* duty. The proper orders have been issued for this purpose.

Approximately about ten thousand pesos are said to be collected every year on account of fifth-part duties on gold, the uncertain figures being due to the fact that many sources of this income are being concealed[4] in this connection.

The Royal Exchequer gets replenished by the assessed two *reales* turned into it from each tax-payer which the *encomenderos* or grant-holders pay on account of their obligation to settle each of their men's tribute which amount is approximately thirty-four thousand pesos every year, destined for the pay of the soldiers and the stipends of those entitled to the prebends.

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[2] The tributes (personal *cedulas*) of the Indios of the Philippines yield today more than ₱4,000,000.

[3] From the Chinese they get ₱225,000.

[4] There being no more exploitation of gold mines nor have the Indios any more jewels which might justify this tax of *diezmo* or *quito*, they substitute for it taxes on industry amounting to ₱1,433,220. In 1640 this business has so diminished that then only ₱750 of *diezmos* were collected annually! (Historical extract of the document of the City of Manila p. 8)

The fines imposed by the Courts and the revenues of the Judiciary are collected by the Treasurer of the Royal Exchequer and go into the Royal coffers, and they are stated to amount approximately three thousand pesos.[1]

The three *per centum ad valorem* duty on the merchandise imported from China through the Chinese vessels, are said to amount to forty thousand pesos.[2]

The two *per centum ad valorem* duty which the Spaniards pay as export charges on the merchandise shipped to New Spain, are said approximately to amount to twenty thousand pesos every year. Likewise, the import duties and charges on the goods' proceeds of sale brought to the Phiilppine Islands, are said to amount to eight thousand pesos every year. Therefore, from the above revenue and from other various receipts of lesser amount which correspond to the Royal coffers, His Majesty can count in the Philippine Island, with approximately one hundred and fifty thousand pesos every year.[3]

Aside from these revenues, and in view of the fact that they are not sufficient to meet the expenditures that are incurred here every year, an aid in cash approximately as large as the needs may amount to, from the Royal coffers in New Spain, to those of the Philippine Islands has been provided for, out of the ten *per centum ad valorem* duties on the merchandise coming from China and unloaded in the Port of Acapulco, New Spain. This aid is turned over into the hands of the Royal officials in Manila, who take charge of the same, together with the rest of the revenues which they collect and administer.

Out of the total amount of these revenues of His Majesty, are paid the salaries of the Governor and Justice of the Royal *Audiencia*, the stipends of the prelates and ecclesiastical prebendaries, the salaries of the Royal officials and officers and their employees or personnel and of all officers of the defense or war department, also of the pay-soldiers. There are included here the stipends for the doctrine-schools and factories, church ornaments, charities and aids for construciton expenses incurred in some monasteries and in favor of private persons, yards for ocean-going vessels for the line of New Spain, for galleys and other vessels for defense of the Islands; for gunpowder and munitions, artillery foundry and the navy-yard personnel and particular enterprises in the Island; likewise for the defense thereof, and for voyages to and negotiations with neighboring Kingdoms which are common and necessary ones. Therefore, considering that the wealth available to His Majesty in these Islands is so limited, while their expenses are so considerable, the Royal coffers suffer much less or deficit and the consequent difficulties and necessities.[1]

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[1] In the budget, it is supposed that this item has not progressed for in the article "seizures, fines, new charges" we find ₱3,000, though in "products of prison wages" ₱5,000 are taken for granted.

[2] The duties on imports now amount to ₱1,700,000.

[3] The export produces ₱285,000.

Moreover, the revenues of ten *per centum* and freight charges collected in Acapulco, New Spain, for the merchandise shipped from the Philippine Islands, however considerable they may be, are insufficient and inadequate to meet the expenditures made in New Spain for the vessels, fighting men, munitions and other things which are sent to the Philippine Islands every year, as they amount to greater figures and are augmented by the Royal coffers of Mexico. For this reason, up to this time, our master the King does not derive any advantages from the revenues collected from the Philippine Islands,[2] on the contrary, he has no mean expenditures, not smaller than he has in New Spain, and he only incurs in them for the sake of Christianity reasons, and of the conversion of the natives,[3] as well as for the hope of advantages greater than those to be derived from other Kingdoms and provinces in Asia, when God will be properly served in this respect.

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[1] According to Hernando de los Rios, had it not been for the expeditions and adventurous conquests in the Moluccas, Cambodia, *etc.*, the Philippine Islands would have been able to support herself since the beginning with her own products; but naturally she is "reduced to great straits," as our author says, for a rising colony ought to maintain the name and glory of the Metropolis in endless wars and conquest of doubtful success. In the time of Mr. Juan de Silva, for the Moluccas war, the royal treasury came to owe the Indios, without counting the residents of Manila, more than ₱2,000,000.

[2] Less benefit the Philippines has derived from her king, although there had been some who were animated by the best wishes. The king, in order to increase the prestige of his name, the extent of his dominions, to maintain the rich Empire of the Indios, and fulfill a moral duty he has imposed upon himself, spent annually for the support of his

Every year the *Audiencia* calls the Royal officials to account for their administration of His Majesty's Exchaquer,[1] demanding the balance on hand and transmitting the accounts to the Court of Accounts in Mexico.

There are Chinese coming from the great country of China in the Ctiy of Manila, and in all the settlements of Spaniards in the Islands, aside from the merchants with their own permanent settlements, who are engaged in various occupations and who have come to make a living. They have their Parian or market and stores, while others are engaged as fishermen and farm-

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own subjects who were in the Philippines some ₱250,000. The Philippines in exchange has given him her independence, her liberty; she gave him her gold, her blood, her sons, supporting his wars, the honor of his flag, enriching if not him, his subjects, giving since the first years more than 500,000 pesos annually in tributes, amounting even to millions, and all for not giving even a right to the name of Spaniard, to loss at the end of three centuries of loyalty and sacrifices the scarce deputies and envoys that defend her, to have no voice in the councils of the nation, to exchange her national religion, her history, her usages and customs for other superstitions, for other history, for other borrowed and ill-understood usages.

[3] The conversion of the Philippines into the Christian faith was the only excuse that gave the kings the right to the possession of the Islands, in the opinion of all men then, military as well as civilians and theologians, like Fr. Alonso Sanchez, Hernando de los Rios, Admiral Jeronimo de Bañuelos y Carrillo, and others. This last one, complaining about the neglect in which the Indios were found, said: "They have given up teaching these innocents the Catholic faith, which is the sole title under which the King of Spain holds this country which does not belong to his patrimony, *etc.*" (Apud Ramusium). This and the existence even today of numerous pagan tribes in the Philippines, elbowing with the most Catholic and devout populations, would prove by itself, if other data did not exist, that the Philippines was kept not only for "the support of Christianity and the conversion of the natives" but also for other political reasons. The Catholic Faith was a Palladian pretext to give an honest appearance to the rule. The reasons adduced in those times to incline the King to keep the Philippines as a necessity were seven: "The first, to increase the preaching of the Gospel. The second, to preserve the authority, grandeur, and reputation of the Spanish crown. The third, to defend the Moluccas Islands and their trade. The fourth, to maintain East India. The fifth, to relieve the Westerners of enemies. The sixth, to crack the forces of the Dutch to aid that of the crowns of Castile and Portugal. The seventh, to protect the trade with China for both. Juan Grau y Montfalcon, *Jusificacion de la Conservacion y Comercio de las Islas Filipinas.*)

[1] This good practice has been lost altogether.

ers on ranches[2] together with the natives, going to trade from one Island to another in their small and large *sampans.*

The vessels which come from the great land of China every year, are brought in great numbers by the Chinese, particularly to the City of Manila, in view of the large profits which they obtain from them in freight charges. Besides, inasmuch as China is overpopulated, and the wages and profits there are small, whatever profit or gain is obtained by them in the Philippine Islands, give them considerable pleasure.

This situation has also its disadvantages, because, aside from the fact that a great number of infidels involves scant security for the country, they are undesirable people with many imperfections; and through association with them, the natives will scarcely advance in their Christianity and morals, and because the former are as numerous and have such good appetites, the foodstuffs will become scarce, and they will consume most of it.[3]

The fact is that without these Chinese, the City cannot get along or maintain itself, because they are masters of all trades, and good workers who labor for moderate wages. However, for these purposes, a fewer number of them would suffice. Their great number would be executed and pass almost unnoticed for the reason that when there are many vessels in Manila, there are also many people in town except that many persons wander about the country on the excuse that they have business dealings with the natives, and who commit a thousand and one offenses and detestable acts. At the very least, they do not fail to explore the entire country, rivers, canals and the ports with all of which, they become more familiar with them than the Spaniards themselves, so that if and when there occurs an uprising or invasion by the enemies of the Islands, these people will become most undesirable and dangerous for us.

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[2] Very rare now are the Chinese engaged in agriculture and fishing.

[3] It cannot be understood how, in spite of so many complaints against the Chinese in these recent times, the reverend Dominican fathers had given them preference and precedence over the Christian Indios and Mestizos in religious functions, it being proven that they apostatize as soon as they leave the country, having accepted baptism only for economic and political convenience. Such a strange measure that scandalized the country and provoked no little uproar, earned for its author a mitre.
Jeronimo de Bañuelos already said: "...instead of making them (the Indios) our friends and brothers, we have converted them into our domestic enemies; in their place we have received the Chinese with whom the interest of the traffic will always put us in bad..." (*loc. cit.*)

In order to remedy this problem, it has been ordered that their vessels bring not so many people of this kind, otherwise effective punishment will be meted out to them and when the vessels return to China, they will take these people back to their country. Only a convenient number of merchants will remain in the Parian or market, and the necessary master-artisans of every trade holding written permits, otherwise they will suffer severe punishment. A Justice of the *Audiencia* has been commissioned to take cognizance of these cases for one year, aside from other Court officials. Ordinarily, upon petition of the Church authorities of the City, such Chinese as may be necessary to attend to the needs of the City with their trade occupations, etc., are retained here, while the other undesirable ones are placed on board the vessels which return to China, considerable pressure being brought to bear in this connection.[1]

These merchants and artisans who remained before the uprising of the year Sixteen Hundred and Three (1603), had occupied and manned the Parian market and all its stores, exclusively. This was a large closed market for silk goods, having many streets at some distance from the City walls, by the side of the river (Pasig), the place being called San Gabriel which had its own warden and its own Court which counted with its own jurisdiction, jail and office which administered justice to them and which watched over their people, day and night, so they might be secure and kept from all trouble.

The Chinese who could not be accommodated in the Parian, live just in front, across the river on the side of Tondo, in two districts called Baybay and Minondoc (Binondo), under the jurisdiction of the magistrate of Tondo; and as to religion, they were under the charge of the priests of Saint Dominic, who attended to their conversion and who were familiar with the Chinese language.

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[1] We saw already that according to other testimonies these measures, like many others in the Philippines, were not implemented even half-way. (See note 2, p. 228, Spanish text)

They have two monasteries with the necessary priests and, a good hospital to treat the Chinese. Besides, they have a district apart from the infidels, a settlement for Christian Chinese with their wives, houses and families, who number five hundred inhabitants; and every day others are being baptized and take their residence in the settlement. Very few of them turn out well because they are not so good people. They are restless and have many bad habits and customs, whose motive in getting themselves baptized is not to save their souls, but to acquire material advantages available to them; and some of them cannot return to China because of their debts incurred and offenses committed by them.[1]

Both Chinese infidels and Christians walk about without weapons and wear their own distinctive dress which is long, with wide sleeves of blue *cangan* cloth or white in case of mourning. The principal people wear black or colored silk clothes, wide trousers of the same material, very wide felt socks, blue silk costumary shoes, embroidered with twisted cord, thick, well-sewn-together soles, or of other material, wearing their hair long, black and cured, twisted around the head, with a high knot.[2] Their head-gear is made of horse-hair or bristles worn down to the middle of the brow a tall round bonnet of the same hair in different styles, by which the quality and occupation of the wearer is distinguished.

The Christianized Chinese are dressed differently from the rest, in that their hair has been cropped[1] and they wear hats like the Spaniards.

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[1] Things have not changed since then as neither has the confidence of the Dominicans.

[2] Morga does not say that the Chinese then went about shaved like now, around the head, in front, temple and skull. At that time the Manchu dynasty was not reigning yet in China from whom it is said this practice came.

[1] The Christianized Chinese of today do not even have this.

They are whitish people, tall of stature, scant beard, well built and quite strong, good workers and ingenious in every trade and profession, very cool, slow to anger, disloyal and cruel when they are in an advantageous position and quite covetous, great meat-eaters,[2] also of fish and fruits, but very poor drinkers, except hot liquids such as tea.

They have a fellow-national for governor, a Christian, having his own assistants and personnel, who hears their cases regarding their homes and business; and from his ruling, an appeal may be had to the magistrate of Trade in the Parian, and from his decision, another appeal may be had to the *Audiencia* or Supreme Court, which is also particularly careful to serve their nation and in everything involving the same.

No Chinaman is allowed to live or keep a house outside the settlements of Parian, Baybay and Binondo, neither are settlements of natives allowed in the Chinese quarter or neighborhood, nor can any native live in a house occupied by Chinamen. In the entire Islands, no Chinaman can leave his town or City or be even two leagues away from it, without a permit to do so: neither can he stay overnight within the Walled City, after the gates thereof have been closed for the night, on pain of death.

Oftentimes, there can be found in Manila, Japanese Christians or infidels, who have remained on land from the vessels coming from Japan, although not as many as the Chinamen. They have their own particular quarter or district outside the City between the Parian of the Chinese and the district of Laguio, next to the Monastery of Candelaria where they are under the jurisdiction of the barefooted priests of Saint Francis, who speak their language. They are energetic people of good disposition and are brave, who dress in their own particular habit, that is, *quimones*[1] of colored silk and cotton, falling down to the middle of their thighs open in front, wide and short trousers, tight gauze stockings.[2] They wear shoes, usually sandals, the soles being of strongly woven straw, with their heads bare, close shaven from brow to the top, the hair, falling down from the back of the head and tied around the cranium with a graceful knot, with scant beard, large and small katana swords on their waist. They have a noble bearing, observe many ceremonies and courtesies, and are ready for any emergency and need.

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[2] Many, however, do not eat cow's meat.

[1] *Kimono* in Japanese. (1) (p. 367)

One can get along well with those who have embraced Christianity and they are very pious and great observers of religious worship, because they are impelled by no motive other than salvation. There are many Christians in Japan, so that they return to their country with ease and without any resistance on their part. These people do not scatter themselves in different parts of the Islands but stay in Manila where they number approximately five hundred Japanese; and in view of their intelligence, they return to Japan without lingering long in the Islands, so that only few of them ordinarily stay here for a short time. They are treated well generally, because they are people who deserve it and because the good relations between the Islands and Japan so require it.

Very few people come from other countries such as Siam, Cambodia, Borneo, Patan and other Islands outside of our Government, and after a short stay they leave for their home on their vessels, so that nothing much has to be done concerning them, except that good care is taken to receive them and send them off later on, seeing to it that they return to their country soon.

Having discussed as briefly as necessary the nature of the Philippine Islands, and what happens and is being practiced there, it may not be amiss to discuss the matter of navigation from New Spain to said Islands and return from there, a voyage which is no easy matter, neither is it a short one, without many dangers and hardships and which is accomplished by way of the Orient.

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[2] A kind of socks that they call *tabi.*

When the Islands were conquered in the year fifteen hundred and seventy-four, through an armada of the Spaniards in which the general of the expedition was the *adelantado* Don Miguel Lopez de Legazpi, the starting point was the Port of Navidad, in the Southern seas on the coast of New Spain, in the province and district of Xalisco and Galicia where the Royal *Audiencia* of Guadalajara is situated. Afterwards, other voyages were undertaken starting from the same Port, until, in the course of progress and better convenience, the clearing and departing point was transferred to the Port of Acapulco, more to the South of the same coast, at sixteen degrees and one half latitude, eighty league from Mexico and within its district, which is an excellent port, guarded from all bad weather with a good entrance-channel and anchorage, in a good community, better supplied with provisions and having more settlements than Navidad, where permanent Spanish settlements have been made, having a local Royal magistrate and officials with a Treasury of His Majesty, which takes care of the clearing and dispatching of all vessels.

The departure of a vessel which is to sail for the Philippine Islands which is done yearly for the account of His Majesty, must necessarily be on a certain and definite season or weather when the breeze begins on th month of November, until the end of March. These departures may not be allowed at other times for the reason that from June onward there are blowing strong adverse winds.

Ordinarily the vessels are cleared and allowed to leave at the end of February, and at the latest, on March the twentieth. They sail in a Westerly direction toward the Islands of the *Velas* (Sails),[1] otherwise known as the *Ladrones* (Thieves) Islands, one of which is Guam, on the thirteenth degree latitude, and for the reason that, at times after they leave Acapulco, the vessels meet calm weather and change their latitude necessarily from ten to six and one half degrees latitude, where the port lies, until they encounter a breeze which usually is to be found at ten or eleven degrees. At this point, the vessel always sails before the wind and without change in their sails, with fresh and favorable breeze and in more temperate climate, eighteen hundred leagues without seeing land or any island, leaving the Barbudos (Bearded people)[2] and all Islands to the South, gradually increasing the latitude of thirteen degrees until the Island of Guam is sighted, and above her at fourteen degrees, the Island of Zarpana,[3] a voyage to the Ladrones Islands usually taking seventy days.

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[1] Rather, 1564.

[1] So called because the lateen sails of the very swift crafts of the

The natives of these Islands go naked, are robust and quite barbarian. As soon as they sight any vessel at about four to six leagues away, they take to sea to meet the galleon on their sea-craft having a single mast and are very light and subtle, using bamboo outriggers, advancing on the lee-side of the vessels. Their sails are made of palm-leaves and belong to the Latin type. They carry two or three persons each, with rovers and paddlers, loaded with flying-fish and golden fish, coconuts, bananas, sweet-potatos, water on bamboo containers, some mats, all of which they exchange on board the vessel, for iron-hoop of casks and barrels and pieces of nails useful to them in their work, and for building their craft. Later on when some Spaniards arrived on those islands and got lost among those people, both laymen and priests, and had associated with the natives, the latter have become more intrepid in approaching Spanish vessels at sea and in boarding them.

Our vessels pass the Islands of Guam and Saypan on their way to the Philippine Islands and Cape of Espiritu Santo, which are three hundred leagues ahead on a latitude of scarcely thirteen degrees which the vessels reach from ten to twelve days with the breeze. When it happens by some cause or other, that the vessels have started the voyage later than they usually do, they encouter strong winds which endanger their voyage for said reason, in which came, they arrive and enter the Philippine Islands with great difficulty and adversity.

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[2] Called thus by Legazpi because the islanders had very long beards.
[3] Seypan.

A vessel enters from the Cape of Espiritu Santo in the direction o fthe Islands of Masbate and Burias, through the strait of Capul; and from there to Marinduque and the coast of Calilaya, to the strait of Mindoro and the shallow waters of Tuley and to the mouth of Manila Bay, thence to Cavite Port, which makes one hundred leagues of voyage from the vessel's entry into the Islands to its arrival therein, which takes eight days, and puts an end to the voyage which is a successful one, ordinarily, without adverse conditions, and accomplished within estimated time.

The return voyage from the Philippine Islands to New Spain is made by the vessels with considerable difficulty and danger, considering the length of the cruise, involving many storms and different temperatures. On these voyages, the vessels depart fully laden with provisions, and fully equipped according to their needs, each galleon making the voyage by itself, sailing as rapidly as possible without catching up with each other, the vessels not seeing each other at any time during the entire voyage.

The vessels depart from the bay and port of Cavite straits between the Islands, from June the twentieth onward and until said vessel leaves the mouth of Capul, they undergo rains and hardships. Once in the high seas, they take full advantage of the strong winds making the voyage, one vessel being behind the other, going in an Easterly direction, following the maximum latitude of fourteen or fifteen degrees.

Then the breeze suddenly increases into a wind which prevails on the Southern Seas, especially in lesser latitudes, and in view that it blows on the vessels's prow, the route has to be made by changing the direction from the North to an Easterly direction, as far as the winds permit, by which the latitude is increased and the vessel marks time until the winds return, upon which the ship again takes its regular course and resumes its normal position, and is headed for an Easterly course, and goes ahead as long as the wind blows. When the wind blows less, the vessel turns its bow accordingly, and avails itself of the prevailing winds from the North in an Easterly direction. If the wind is so adverse, such as the North or the Northwest one, so that the vessel cannot follow its route, then another deviation is made, so that the voyage is undertaken slowly and amusingly, without, however, edging away. At a distance of four hundred leagues away from the Islands, volcanoes and reefs of the Ladrones Islands can be seen, extending to the North up to twenty-four degrees latitude, and along there, severe storms and typhoons may often be encountered, and at the thirty-fourth degrees latitude may be seen the Cape og Sestos,[1] the head of Japan to the extreme North thereof, six hundred leagues away from the Philippine Islands. The vessels passed between other islands which suddenly come to view, seldom sighted on thirty-eight degrees latitude, offering the same dangers and stormy weather, on a cold temperature, on which location lies a group of islands seldom seen,[2] said to be rich in gold and silver. After passing them, the vessel finds itself in a large gulf, where the galleon can sail siwftly in any sort of weather, and it then cruises the seas under whatever conditions may prevail, until it reaches the forty-second degrees latitude after many leagues of voyage, with the coast of New Spain as its final objective, seeking general winds which blow on said high latitude, ordinarily the Northwestern ones. After a long voyage the vessel sights the proximity of the coast of New Spain, having sailed from the Cape of Mendocino on forty-second and one half degrees latitude, a distance of nine hundred leagues up to the port of Acapulco which lies on the sixteenth and one half degrees latitude.

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[1] It is a group of islands called Shidsi To at 34°20'.

[2] These islands "rich in gold and rich in silver" had been the object of many expeditions, but could not be found, the search leading to the discovery of many others. Its name is due to the fact, as they say, that a ship having arrived at them, picked up a little of the earth there in its stoves, through, we don't remember, what incident, which later, with the heat of the fire, yielded a considerable number of little loaves of gold. Hence its name. They have searched for them afterwards, but they have not been found, but this did not prevent the sailors from pointing out their location in all their voyages, though they never got to sight them. (See Gemelli Carreri, *Viajes a Filipinas y Mejico.*

As the vessels are approaching the coast which is ordinarily recognized on the fortieth degree up to thirtieth degrees latitude, the temperature gets to be considerably cold, and the people on board suffer greatly and often even die. Even at three hundred leagues away from the coast, there are signs of the proximity of land, that is, jelly-fishes and physalias, the size of a human fist, round, red and violet colored, with a crest in the middle, like a Latin sail, oftentimes called carvels. These signs are visible up to a distance of one hundred leagues from shore, and immediately there appear certain sea-creatures or sea-hogs, half of whose bodies resemble a dog,[1] which romp and gambol with each other near the vessel. Likewise, ahead of the little sea-hogs appear certain floating islands with plants or shrubs on them, with tall and yellow reeds or grass with a ball on the end. Thirty leagues from the shore, there are large floating bunches of grass and plants which the river casts out to sea, referred to as *balsas* or rafts, and then again appear the small sea-hogs romping around these signs of approaching land. Immediately the coast comes to view, tall, clear land and without losing sight of it, the vessels hurry to it, impelled by the North, West, North Northwest and the North winds which are to be ordinarily met with along those coasts in the daytime, in the direction of land and at night in that of the sea, in proportion as the latitude diminishes. As we enter a warm temperature, we sight the Island of Cenizas or ashes and later that of Cedros or cedars. From there we can recognize the Cape of San Lucas which is the mouth of California, from where eighty leagues have to be cruised, before we sight the Marias Islands and the Cape of Corrientes or currents, which lies of the other side of California in the Valley of Banderas and the provinces of Chametla. From there, the vessel proceeds along the coast of Colima and Sacatul, Los Motines and Ciguatanejo, after which the vessel enters the Port of Acapulco, without having made any call at or landing in any place whatsoever, since leaving the Channel of Capul in the Philippine Islands, throughout the voyage, which ordinarily takes approximately five months and sometimes even six or more.

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[1] Seals abound off the coasts of California.

One can sail from the Philippine Islands to Spain through India, by making a voyage to Malacca and thence to Cochin and Goa, making a total of twelve hundred leagues, necessarily with the aid of the winds. From Goa one can travel through the India route, to the Cape of Good Hope and to the Terceras (Third) Islands, and thence to Portugal, port of Lisbon, a very long and tedoius route, such as the Portuguese undertake every year. Letters and courriers can be sent out from India to Spain, through the Red Sea, by means of Indian agents who pass through Arabia and Alexandria, thence by the sea of Venice, and finally on to Spain.

A galleon has, for several years, been leaving from the Fort of Malacca to Portugal, taking to the high seas without calling at India or its coasts, and has thereby travelled faster this way than vessels starting out from Goa. The usual date of departure of said vessel has been every fifth day of January and not later, neither is the trip ever made in advance time. However, this voyage is never undertaken by Castilians. As a matter of fact, they are forbidden to undertake it, except the trip made to New Spain and return therefrom, as has already been stated. No better or shorter route has ever been discovered through the Southern Seas, although it has been attempted.

May God be praised:

(Copied from the original in the British Museum (C-3-2 F-3-1, September 28, 1888)

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